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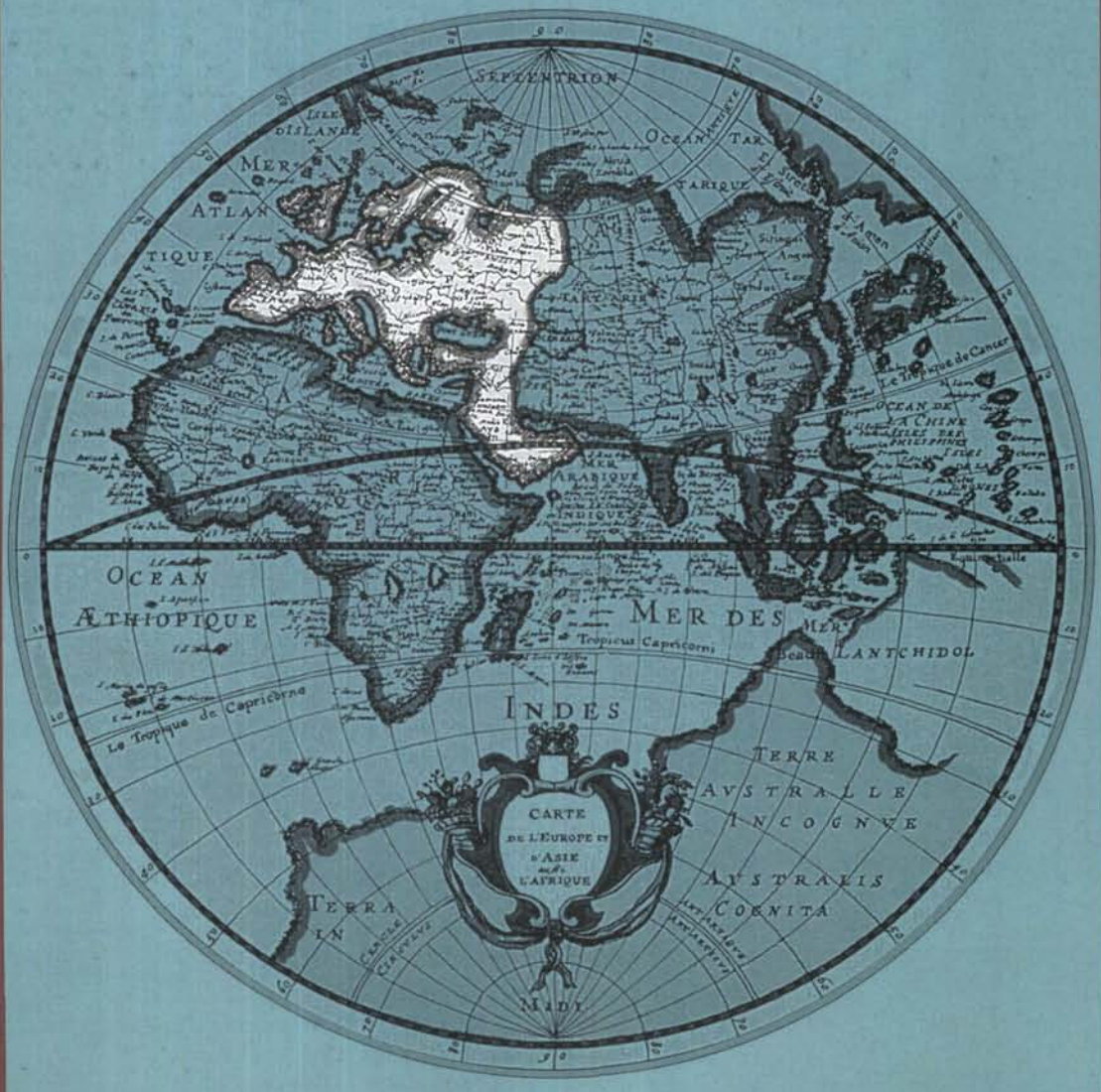

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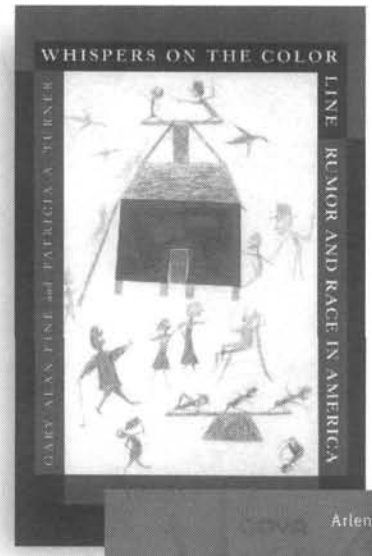

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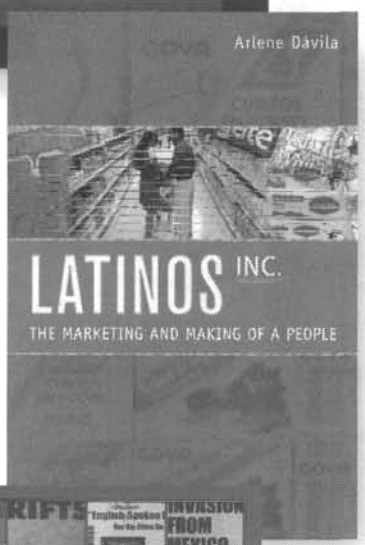

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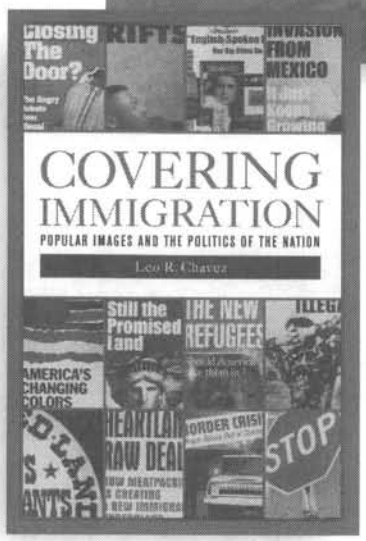

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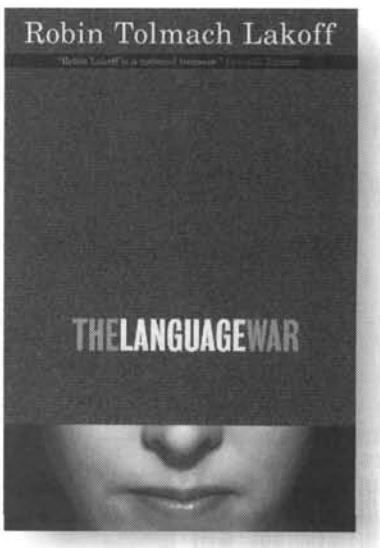

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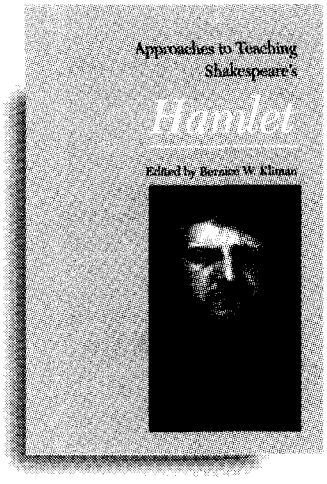

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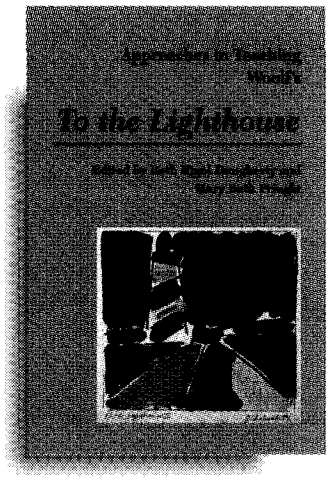

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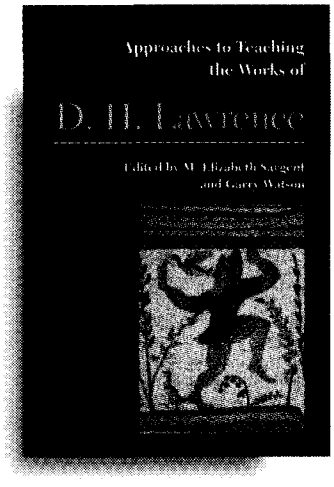

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Table of Contents

FEATURES

30 WHY THE WEST?
Before Europe became a dominant force in the world, it was a small and peripheral backwater. Was its ascendancy well earned or a fluke? Historians square off.
BY GALE STOKES

40 STUTTER, MEMORY
Six decades ago, a speech pathologist named Wendell Johnson attempted to turn a group of children into stutterers. Was his science as dubious as his ethics?
BY MICHAEL ERARD

50 TERMS OF ENGAGEMENT
In Macedonia, winning the war of words is half the battle. A report from a conflict-riddled country divided by language.
BY LAURA SECOR

60 THE SUBMERGENCE OF MAN
Like dolphins, we have smooth, hairless skin. Like whales, we can hold our breath. And like seals, we're fatty. So why have we ignored the Aquatic Ape Theory?
BY GAVIN McNETT

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DEPARTMENTS

7 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

8 FIELD NOTES
R. Scott Appleby on Islamic fundamentalism's worldwide reach/Marshall Berman on New York's grief

15 BREAKTHROUGH BOOKS
The media

19 INSIDE PUBLISHING
When Hindus ate beef/Jim Crow remembered/Why doesn't everybody love Raymond Aron?/Snubbing Lenin, and more

68 HYPOTHESES
Jim Holt on the political uses of a mathematical axiom.

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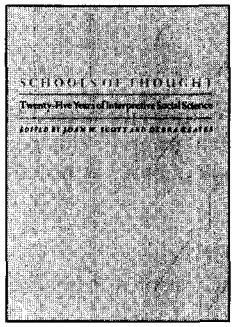

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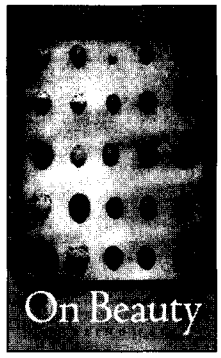

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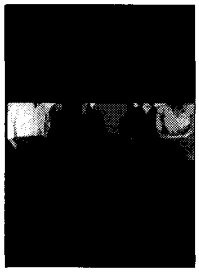

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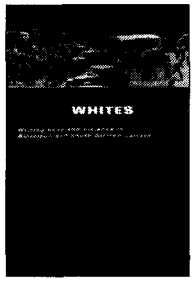

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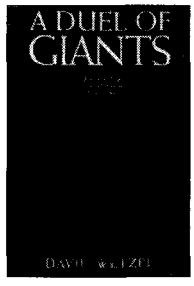

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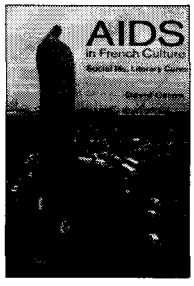

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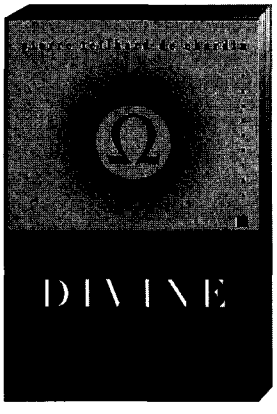

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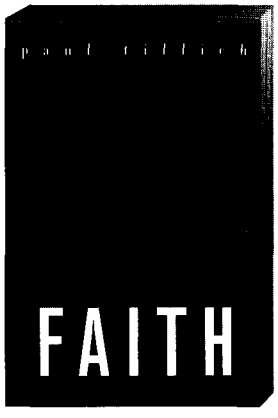

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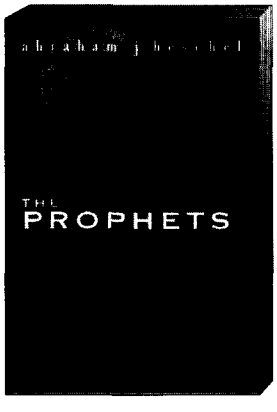

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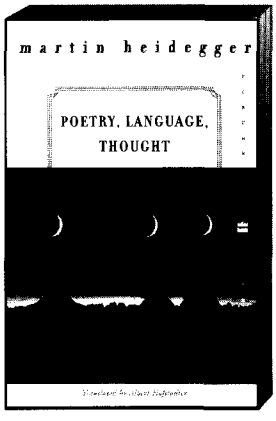

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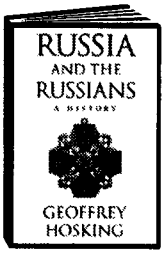

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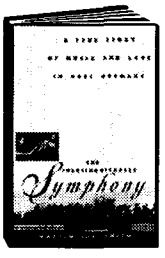

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OF MICE, MACHINES, AND MEN

With regard to Clive Thompson's article "The Know-It-All Machine" [September], any well-informed person must be very skeptical of the claims advanced for Cyc, Doug Lenat's artificial-intelligence program.

There is a recurrent phenomenon in artificial-intelligence research wherein researchers claim to have produced true intelligence in systems that do not even remotely approach the complexity of the human brain. As Stanley L. Jaki pointed out in his 1969 book, *Brain, Mind, and Computer,* the information storage and processing power of the brain is immense. Even now, one would have to fill the Empire State Building entirely with computers to get sufficient processing power to emulate a human brain. Commercialized researchers, under pressure to achieve dramatic results, persistently ignore this fact.

A ten-year-old child is the product of about three million minutes of learning time, and this learning time is not confined to the spoken word. It includes visual and tactile inputs as well: A child knows what "wet" means from the tactile sensation of being wet. Altogether, we are talking about terabytes of information. Lenat's database is manifestly about a million times too small to do any good, and of course he will go bankrupt long before he finds the money to build the database up to the requisite size. Additional difficulties will emerge, and then difficulties within the difficulties.

Commercialized researchers prefer to treat attractive aspects of human intelligence (natural language processing, common sense, personality, and so on) as if they were not fundamentally grounded in the visual and tactile-kinesthetic aspects of intelligence. Of course, even mice display these latter kinds of intelligence. It is surely Frankensteinian presumptuousness of the highest order to claim to be able to make a man when one cannot even make a mouse.

ANDREW D. TODD
Morgantown, West Virginia

EAST AND WEST

At a couple of points in his article about Richard Nisbett ["White Men Can't Contextualize," September], Christopher Shea acknowledges that "Asia" covers a plurality of cultures, but his concept of Asia seems in effect to be East Asia. Nowhere does he seem to recognize that "Western" and "American" are not synonymous. It may well be that the differences between American perceptions and East Asian ones are equally matched by differences among, say, Americans, Greeks, Brazilians, and even us Australians.

DENNIS ALTMAN
Professor of Politics
LaTrobe University
Bundoora, Australia

While I can't say much about the body of Nisbett's findings, my years of teaching American undergraduates do tend to confirm one of his views: Students will assume that speakers are expressing personal opinions even when all but told otherwise. Americans, particularly younger ones, are taught that intensity is a marker for sincerity and that sincerity is a marker for truth. Hence anyone who projects intensity must be expressing truth. No wonder people are so receptive to advertising, melodramatic cinema, and simpleminded political speeches.

MARC L. HARRIS
Associate Professor of History
Pennsylvania State University
Altoona, Pennsylvania

SECT THEORY

Mark Oppenheimer's article on Stanley Hauerwas ["For God, Not Country," September] makes my blood run cold. How is what Hauerwas suggests different from what dangerous cult leaders like Jim Jones have demanded of their followers, who, like Hauerwas's ideal Christian, must sacrifice their free will? These followers cannot leave their religious communities without almost unobtainable permission. They must reveal their assets and contribute outlandishly to the cult. The implications of Hauerwas's vision of ideal Christianity have more to do with mind control than with a religious orientation that has a strong ethical base.

R. BAIRD SHUMAN
Professor Emeritus of English
University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign

THE ACKERMAN FILE

When Christopher Shea telephoned to interview me for an article in *Lingua Franca*

continued on page 66

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Field Notes

The Fundamentalist Factor

BY R. SCOTT APPLEBY

THE PEOPLE OF THE Book have a gripe with secular modernity. Vocal and well-organized minorities within Christianity, Judaism, and Islam are disgusted with their "mainline" and merely orthodox co-religionists. Nurtured within the Abrahamic faiths, they have established their own alternative institutions, transnational networks, and fluid movements or cells. Whether lodged in Jewish settlements on the West Bank, schooled in *madrasahs* along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan, or tuned in to the *700 Club* studios in Virginia, these self-proclaimed "true believers" tend to demonize their enemies, manufacture or exploit moments of crisis, and challenge or compel their somnolent co-religionists to take a decisive stand "for God."

By any reckoning, Islam has produced more contemporary fundamentalist movements than any other great religious tradition. Of course, it is inaccurate and wrongheaded to conclude that Islam is therefore inherently intolerant. Muslims have produced a variety of social practices and political cultures; both the Muslims of South Asia and the Muslims of Turkey, for example, have political cultures that differ from those of Arab Muslims. Any totalizing or essentialist description of Islam (Islam is always opposed to free markets, Islam is essentially socialist in nature) is bound to be misleading.

But it is also worth noting that it is the so-called Islamist or Islamic fundamentalist movements, in fact, that seek to essentialize Islam. They envision Islam as a comprehensive and stable set of beliefs and practices that determines social, economic, and political attitudes and behavior. Moreover, they interpret and would apply Islamic law in accord with the narrowest and most militant readings of Qur'anic concepts like *tawhid* (the unity of God), *umma* (the worldwide Muslim community), and jihad.

American journalists and officials have appeared foolish in their stunned reactions to "new" evidence—such as Mohamed Atta's letter of instruction to his fellow hijackers—that these terrorists actually believe in God and would invoke His assistance before piloting planes into buildings. Long before September 11, Muslim extremists made no secret of their terror-legitimating interpretations of Islamic law. In the mid-1980s, Islamist shaykhs (formally trained religious scholars, whose Qur'anic learning has attracted disciples) were already giving their blessings to suicide missions, strictly forbidden by Islamic law. They reinterpreted self-martyrdom as a legitimate act of self-defense against "an enemy whom it is impossible to fight by conventional means," as Shaykh Sayyed Muhammed Hussein Fadlallah, the spiritual guide of Lebanon's Hezbollah movement, told an interviewer in 1985. Such rulings are based in convictions that are widely shared by both Sunni and Shiite extremist cadres.

Why, then, does Islam produce so many viable fundamentalist movements?

First, the mass media have increased popular awareness of inequalities and injustices, as well as of the corruption and mismanagement that bedevil governments and state-run institutions. A growing sense among Muslims of "relative deprivation" compared with other societies has coincided with exhaustion and disgust at a string of failed secular "solutions," from the Pan-Arabism espoused in the 1950s and 1960s by Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser to the Marxist leanings of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Islamists blame these failures (as well as their vulnerability to Western powers and, especially, military defeat at the hands of the Israelis) on the abandonment of Islam as the basis for the ordering of society. Their

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"solution" is fundamentalist rather than nationalist because the glorious Islamic empires and civilizations that serve as precedents antedated or resisted the rise of the modern secular nation-state. Indeed, Islam's own religious vocabulary and conceptual repertoire conceive of a transnational, transregional spiritual community of believing Muslims as the basic political entity.

Second, Islam has been remarkably resistant to the differentiation and privatization of religion that often accompanies secularization. (In this Islam resembles Roman Catholicism, which officially retained a largely medieval worldview until approximately the mid-1960s.) It is often pointed out that Islam has not undergone a reformation like the one experienced by Christianity, which led to a pronounced separation of sacred and secular, religious and political spheres.

Finally, Islamist preachers and leaders have competed successfully with mainstream Islamic leaders for resources and respect. They have done so by avoiding personal corruption and demonstrating integrity in providing services to the needy. Their recruitment, training, and retention of core activists is exemplary. Their exploitation of Islamic theological and religio-legal resources has been by turns crude and sophisticated but always effective.

Ultimately, extremist Islam will fail. Its hope for conformity is doomed by the internal pluralism of the Islamic tradition and by the inability of extremists who reject cooperation with outsiders to meliorate the economic and social inequalities that haunt most Muslims. As a result of the extremists' failure, however, they will continue to be a disruptive and destabilizing force in Islamic societies.

Under such circumstances, preachers and jurists who reject extremism and seek to strengthen Islamic political culture and civil society stand the best chance of undermining fundamentalism in its violent incarnations. Chandra Muzaffar of Malaysia and Abdolkarim Soroush of Iran, among other "progressive" Muslim thinkers who have developed popular followings, argue that political Islam is not destined to bequeath the mantle of the Prophet to the spiritual sons of bin Laden. While influential among youth, they are not currently positioned to bring about a transformation in their societies. One of the unintended consequences of September 11, however, may be that they or their disciples will find a wider audience.

R. Scott Appleby directs the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation* (Rowman & Littlefield).

Missing in Action

Death and Life in New York

BY MARSHALL BERMAN

I LIVE AND WORK AT THE other end of town. The radio told me to turn on the television fast; I was just in time to see the second plane crash, and then the implosions. My first thought was, "Oh my God, it's like my book!" I meant *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, a book I wrote about what it means to be modern. A moment later, I thought, "What's wrong with me? Parts of buildings and parts of bodies are flying through the air"—if you had the television on, there was no way not to see—"and I put *my* ideas and *me* in the foreground?" Soon afterward, on the screen and then in the street, I heard people talking, and they were doing just what I'd done: making enormous mythical constructions that would cause the whole horrific event to revolve around *them*. We were like needy sculptors rushing to produce instant replacements for the giant stabiles that had stood on World Trade Plaza. We threw up anything we could hide behind to conceal our panic, our helplessness, and our instant, boundless sense of guilt. In the shrink trade, they call it "survivor guilt."

When we mourn a loved one, or a president, we feel we are getting back to something very, very old. September 11 is something else. Its instantaneousness and enormity make it new: this year's model in death. For those of us who haven't lost loved ones, where do we start mourning? Maybe with all the devastated families and survivors, and with the thousands of people who have lost their jobs since September 11, and the thousands more whose jobs will vanish.

In my neighborhood, the Upper West Side, the fire companies took the worst hits. New York's firehouses, legacies of a nineteenth-century "walking city," are located directly on crowded streets. We pass them all the time and barely notice. But now we stop before the photos of the handsome young guys, and of the chiefs who could be (and sometimes were) their grandfathers, and we see the survivors hanging around outside, looking shakily into

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the distance as if waiting for their friends.

Loss thickens the city air, like the murky smells that drift uptown, merge with the incense from candles on the streets, and make it suddenly hard to breathe. Then it's gone; then it comes back. "Does it hurt?" "Only when I breathe."

For my wife and me, miles from the wreckage, unable to get downtown till the end of the first week, the most striking thing was the signs. At first they resembled the missing-person signs you see in every American city, with photo portraits and descriptive texts. Every year, more than a hundred thousand Americans walk out of their lives. But we know most do it on purpose—as suggested in the idiom "gone missing"—and most will eventually come back. If we are afraid, we are afraid that *this* man or woman or boy or girl has got so far out, all alone, that he or she won't be able to come back. But the new signs break our hearts in a different way. For the people in them, we only wish we could be afraid. We know all too well they didn't "go missing"; we also know they won't be coming back.

Mounted together on a hundred walls, these men and women have a stronger collective identity after death than they ever had in life. And they create a collective identity for us, one we didn't want but can't shed: survivors of mainland America's first great air raid. But the signs also convey a surprising aura of individuality. As my wife and I walked through the West Village, near the Hudson River, we noticed the names of some of the same people repeated on different signs, with different portraits, texts, and numbers to call; we saw the complexities and ironies of their lives.

The signs dramatize one of the central themes of modern democratic culture: life stories. Life stories were a crucial force in the culture of the New Deal and the Popular Front, a culture that insisted that every ordinary person's life had meaning and power. Think of Joan Blondell singing "Remember My Forgotten Man," or James Agee and Walker Evans's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men,* or the sweeping murals of ordinary people living their lives. But that ontology really unfolded just after World War I, with James Joyce's *Ulysses.* Often considered the greatest novel ever written, *Ulysses* is great because it goes so deep into the life of a deeply ordinary man and his wife, revealing how heroically extraordinary their ordinary lives can be. Joyce's fascist ex-friend the poet and painter Wyndham Lewis condemned him for betraying the spirit of the avant-garde and mocked *Ulysses* for its "Plainmanism."

The signs we saw downtown—with names like Lim, Murphy, Rasweiler, Singh, Morgan, Barbosa, Sofi, Vasquez, Pascual, Gambale, Draginsky, Bennett, Gjonbalaj, Vale, Alger, Holmes—were triumphs of Plainmanism. They give us some sense of the depth of being out there, in people we pass by on the street or rub up against in the subway every day. The diversity of the names highlights America's most attractive quality, its "transnational," global inclusiveness. Some papers and television programs have carried it on, broadcasting short lives. The radiance and promise are lovely, the endings—or rather the *one* ending—unbearable. I hope the pain doesn't make us numb and that the empathy lasts, extending also to those who made the signs, the survivors who are here trying to live now.

I FIND IT A LOT HARDER to feel empathy for those buildings. The earliest epitaphs for the towers testified to our reluctance to speak ill of the dead. The Discovery Channel did a show on the buildings, hosted by John Hockenberry, a former National Public Radio commentator I used to admire. "Everything that is best in America," he said, "was embodied in these buildings." I felt insulted by this compliment. Now, more than a month later, we should be able to face the fact that the buildings were brutal and overbearing, designed on the scale of monuments to some modern Ozymandias. They were expressions of an urbanism that disdained the city and its people. (Eric Darton's *Divided We Stand: A Biography of New York's World Trade Center* tells this story beautifully.) They loomed over downtown and blotted out the sky. I admit, for the few with a view, they were glorious at sunrise and sunset, for about a minute apiece. But they were purposely isolated from the downtown street system and designed to fit Le Corbusier's dictum "We must kill the street." Compare them with the Empire State and Chrysler Buildings, located on main streets in the middle of city life.

The Twin Towers evoked Corbu's Platonic ideal of a modern building, "the Tower in the Park." Only, guess what: There was no park. Bedecked with noble language about global unity, the WTC really belonged to the swampy history of Manhattan real estate deals. It had plenty of "public spaces," but they were remarkably unfriendly to real people: too cramped and broken up, like the underground shopping arcade; too vast and void, like the windswept outdoor plaza, whose main achievement was to prove to the world that you can construct a desert in the midst of a metropolis. Rereading these words, I see how this petulant trash talk dates me: It places me in a generation that can remember life BWTC. People too young to remember took the towers' existence for granted and felt impressed by their size. But feelings like those should not be confused with love.

Even enormous "public authorities," like the Port Authority, which owns the WTC, can create environments far more humanly appealing than the one that was just destroyed. One of them is right next door: the Battery Park City luxury housing complex and the office towers of the World Financial Center. The BPC/WFC development arose about a decade after the WTC, and it is still rising. It includes skyscrapers half the height of the WTC, but far more graceful; they give the space an organic form, like foothills leading up to a mountain range. There are grassy knolls, a Winter Garden with giant palm trees, a Jewish Museum, several vest-pocket parks, a bike path, a ferry slip, a yacht basin, a long and winding riverfront strand, a gorgeously landscaped cove, a platform where you can almost reach out and touch the Statue of Liberty. My wife and

In order to rebuild, says Isaiah, we must learn a whole new structure of feeling.

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I had our first hot date there. Institutional structures can generate dramatic, romantic, and entertaining public spaces where huge city crowds can feel at home. But not at the WTC! On any nice weekend over the last decade, the BPC/WFC has been packed, the WTC virtually deserted, but for the great banks of escalators leading to the New Jersey PATH train. Last July, the PA leased it all to developer Larry Silverstein for the next ninety-nine years.

FOR JEWS WHO MARKED Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, on September 27, past and present seemed weirdly to collapse into each other. One of the holiday's central themes is the aftermath of mass murder. We read, meditate on, and talk about the destruction of Jerusalem. This is an event that has really happened in history, more than once, and could happen again. It is also a symbol of the horror humans have endured. One prophetic text we read on this day is Isaiah 58. Its author, conventionally called Second Isaiah, lived about two hundred years after the prophet Isaiah, during the Babylonian exile. He assured the thousands of Jews yearning for home that "your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations."

But God would support the project of rebuilding only if the Jewish elite fulfilled certain tasks. These tasks are not ritual but ethical, directed not to God but to other people:

> to loose the bonds of
> wickedness,
> to undo the heavy burdens,
> to let the oppressed go free,
> and to break every yoke...
> to share your bread with the
> hungry,
> and bring the homeless poor
> into your house;
> When you see the naked,
> to cover him,
> and not to hide yourself from
> your own flesh....
> Then shall your light break
> forth like the dawn.

If you want the power to rebuild, you must share your wealth and your resources far more than you did. You need to learn a whole new structure of feeling. You need to feel and recognize people less fortunate than yourself as "your own flesh"; you need to learn not to "hide yourself" but to "pour yourself out" before the city can rise again. At least that was how we read it on Yom Kippur.

WILL LARRY SILVERstein pour himself out? And what then? Ideas seem polarized between freezing the site in an agony of unending nothingness and getting business going as if nothing had happened. My feelings are mixed. I want life to go on. But I don't want the city to forget all those good people trapped in those bad buildings. We need a memorial that can capture the vividness, spontaneity, and "narrative drive" of those signs. But even as we remember, we need not succumb to the undertow of survivor guilt. The people who died came to downtown New York and put up with the dirt and noise and high prices and high rents and free-floating nastiness, because they wanted to live and to make a difference in the world. If there is a bond between us and them, one thing we owe them is to be where we are, in the world, and stay more alive than ever.

New Yorkers need time to sort it all out. One thing that may help us do this is a chance to *participate*. This idea has many meanings. One is that we need to *talk*. New Yorkers are famous for being big talkers, remember? Maybe dialogue will yield a shared vision of what we should build on the ruins. We may not get what we want, but we'll be happier if we know.

I even have a place in mind for this blind date: Union Square Park. When Parks Commissioner Robert Moses closed down its Speakers' Corner during World War II (on the grounds that someone might say something damaging to national security), the suppression of talk began half a century of decline. The city rebuilt the park in the late 1990s, but it never caught on as a public space—until September 11. Then, abruptly, it was flooded with candles, flowers, missing-person signs, poems, and drawings. Some art students unrolled a piece of paper three feet wide and several hundred feet long. A great assembly of people gathered round to write radically contradictory messages and meditations. In a short time, Union Square became the city's most exciting public space. I knew it was too good to be true, and indeed, at the end of Week 2, the city shut it down. Fences were put up to keep homeless people out, which, of course, also kept everyone else out. And yet people have gone on asserting their right to be a public there.

There's another kind of participation that would make a lot of New Yorkers happy: to schlepp, to get down and dirty, to help clear the endless rubble and open up the space. The task sounds like some mythical Herculean labor. But this is one of those rare moments when a great many people would be thrilled to exhaust themselves to help the city come back to life. It would be "urban renewal," for real.

I can't imagine how to work this out. But I know it's happened before, at many points in history, after floods and fires and earthquakes and civil wars. Maybe some of our many executives, whose brilliant creativity we are always hearing about and who love to talk about New York's grandeur and glory, could help the city organize a job like this? It would be a good reason, the best reason I've heard in a while, to get up in the morning and go downtown.

Marshall Berman teaches political thought and urbanism at CUNY. He is working on a book titled *A Hundred Years of Spectacle: Metamorphoses of Times Square*.

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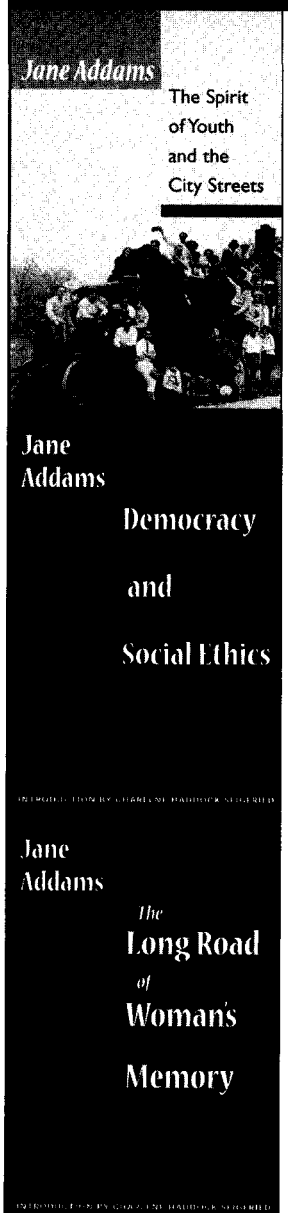
Jane Addams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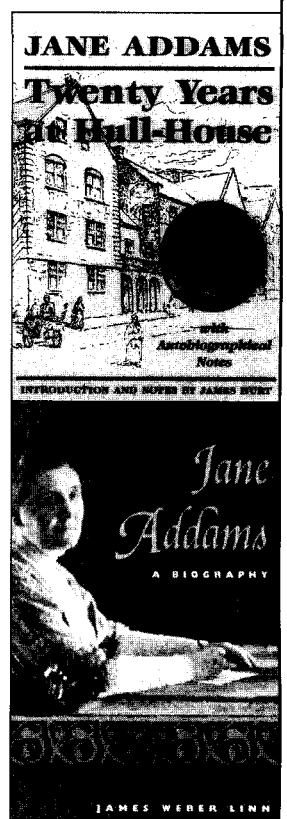

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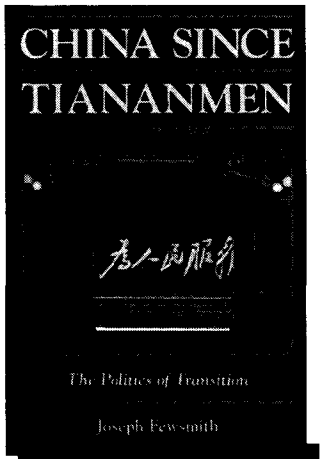

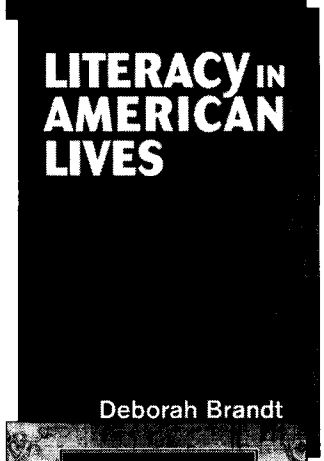

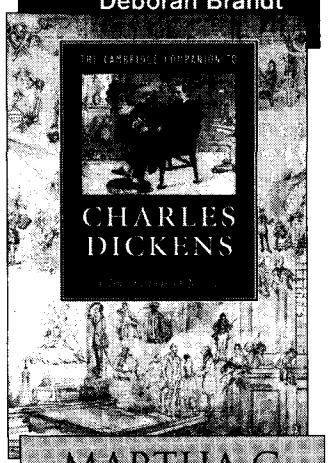

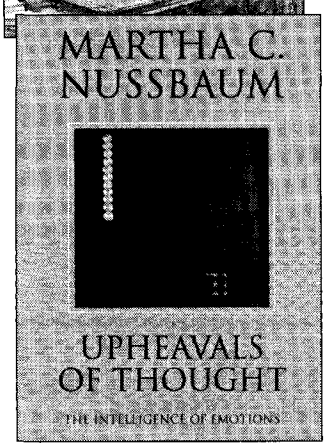

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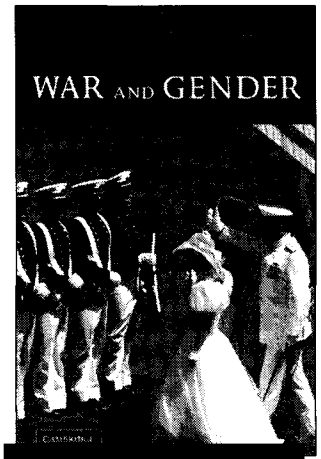

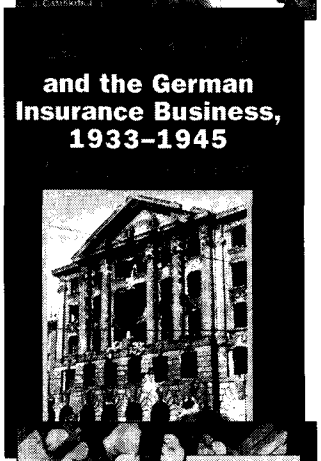

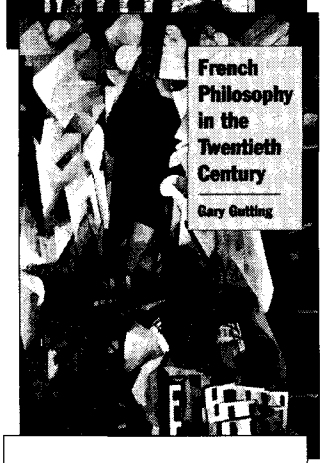

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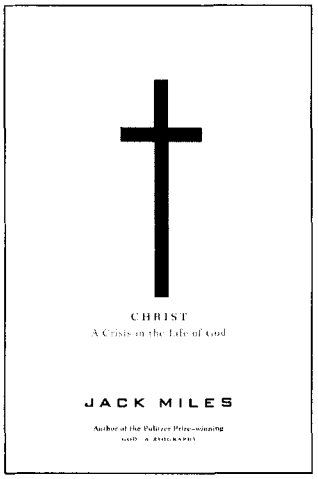

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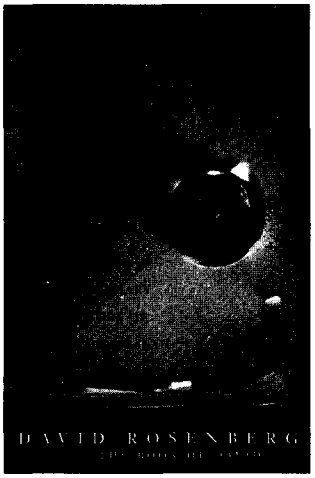

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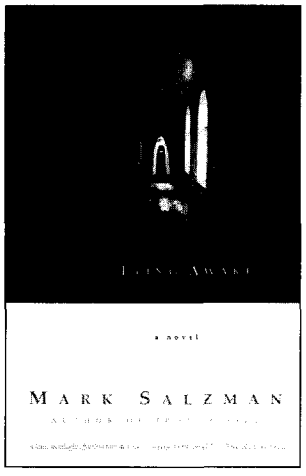

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Breakthrough Books

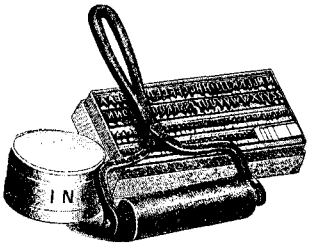
MEDIA

WE ASKED FIVE EXPERTS TO RECOMMEND THE BEST RECENT BOOKS ABOUT THE MEDIA.

Michael Schudson, professor of communication and adjunct professor of sociology at the University of California at San Diego and author of *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (Free Press, 1998).

"A fundamental question in media studies is the extent to which communications technology affects human thought and institutions. This was Marshall McLuhan's grand theme. Progress in addressing this question has come only when big pronouncements have been cut down to bite-sized chunks. A key work, widely known in literacy studies but often overlooked, is **Sylvia Scribner** and **Michael Cole**'s ***The Psychology of Literacy*** (Harvard, 1981; iUniverse.com, 1999). Based on research conducted in Africa, the book is a fairly technical controlled-experiment study of how different forms of literacy influence the development of various cognitive skills. Scribner and Cole show that under different social conditions, the same hardware—in this case, paper-and-pencil literacy—can have very different consequences for human cognition. Technology matters, but, after Scribner and Cole, old-fashioned technological determinism should be dead.

"A central assumption in media studies is that mass communications, by its very nature, represents a decline from the purity of face-to-face interaction. Stated or implied, this premise is so pervasive that no one gave it careful examination until **John Durham Peters** in ***Speaking Into the Air*** (Chicago, 1999). In a work that almost flaunts its unconventionality, Peters argues that face-to-face communication (on the model of a Socratic dialogue) has its own tyrannies and illusions, whereas mass communication (on the model of the sermons of Jesus) can maintain a respect for individual autonomy not found in one-on-one speech. With wit and eloquence, this book turns media studies upside down."



Susan Herbst, chair of the political science department at Northwestern University and author of *Reading Public Opinion: Political Actors View the Democratic Process* (Chicago, 1998).

"In ***Impersonal Influence: How Perceptions of Mass Collectives Affect Political Attitudes*** (Cambridge, 1998), **Diana Mutz** explores how people's opinions about social and political issues are influenced by anonymous others 'out there' in television and newspaper reports. How affected are we by poll data gathered from unidentified people we will never meet? Do the economic circumstances of our friends and family shape our views of the economy, or are our opinions more likely to be influenced by what we see on television? Mutz takes George Herbert Mead's provocative notion of the generalized other and shows us that the other is now represented by the American news and entertainment media. This is imaginative, historically grounded work, and it's full of terrific new empirical data."

Robert W. McChesney, research professor at the Institute of Communications Research and the Graduate School of Information and Library Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and author of *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times* (New Press, 2000).

"Two classic books on journalism and media will be rereleased next year. Early in the year, Pantheon will publish a revised and expanded edition of **Edward S. Herman** and **Noam Chomsky**'s ***Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media.*** The new version of the book explains—convincingly, in my view—how Herman and Chomsky's 'propaganda model' applies to the post–Cold War world. In the fall, the University of Illinois Press will reprint **Upton Sinclair**'s ***The Brass Check.*** Originally self-published in 1919, the book was the first great systematic critique of the corrupt and anti-democratic nature of 'capitalist journalism.' Although it had sold more than 150,000 copies by the mid-1920s and is arguably Sinclair's second-best book after *The Jungle*, the book subsequently faded from view. In recent years, with the com-

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mercial assault on the autonomy of professional journalists, *The Brass Check* is again very relevant, even mandatory, for those looking for a historical perspective on the place of media in a democratic society."

Carolyn Kitch, assistant professor of journalism at Temple University and author of *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (North Carolina, 2001).

"From Lara Croft to Xena to the unforgiving taskmistress on *The Weakest Link*, tough women populate today's entertainment media. The emergence of these intimidating female characters is the focus of **Sherrie A. Inness's *Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture*** (Pennsylvania, 1999). Inness explores whether such characters and their predecessors—the Bionic Woman and the title characters in *Thelma and Louise*, for instance—really represent progress in how women are portrayed in the media. The debut of the earliest television tough girls coincided with the height of the second wave of the U.S. women's rights movement. While they appeared to serve as role models, Inness writes, these women warriors 'helped to reaffirm stereotypes about the sexuality and femininity of women, attributes that worked to diminish the impact of the women's toughness.' Such mixed messages, Inness shows, continue both to confirm and to deny the impact of feminism. Some of Inness's arguments echo those of **Caryl Rivers**, whose ***Slick Spins and Fractured Facts: How Cultural Myths Distort the News*** (Columbia, 1996) is an insightful examination of press coverage of women, minorities, and the poor."

John V. Pavlik, professor of journalism and director of the Center for New Media at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism and author of *Journalism and New Media* (Columbia, 2001).

"***Multimedia: From Wagner to Virtual Reality*** (Norton, 2001), co-edited by **Randall Packer** and **Ken Jordan** with a foreword by **William Gibson**, is a compendium of classic writing about information technology and its role in society. Drawing from the work of a remarkably diverse group of writers, including Norbert Weiner, John Cage, William Burroughs, Lynn Hershman, Tim Berners-Lee, and Vannevar Bush, the editors explore five aspects of new media: integration, interactivity, hypermedia, immersion, and narrativity. They have made some inspired choices. The section on integration, for example, opens with an excerpt from Richard Wagner's 1849 treatise 'Outlines of the Artwork of the Future,' in which the composer predicted that the separate branches of art—music, architecture, painting, poetry, dance—would reach new poetic heights when woven together in drama. In many ways, this integration is what new media are all about."

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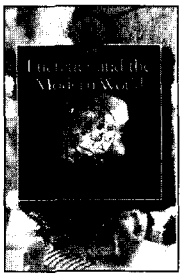

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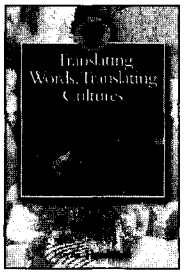

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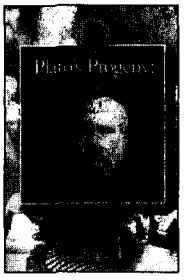

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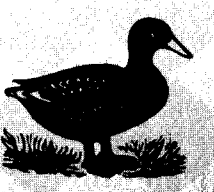

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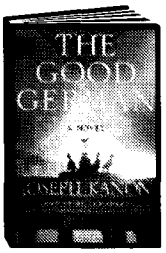

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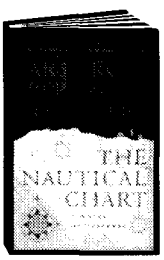

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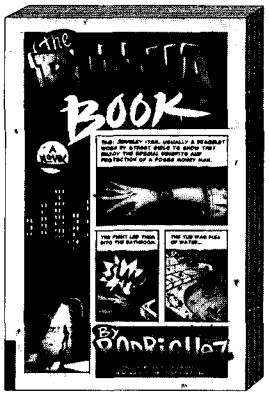

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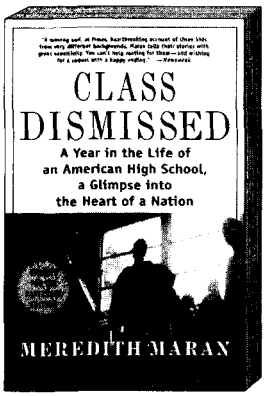

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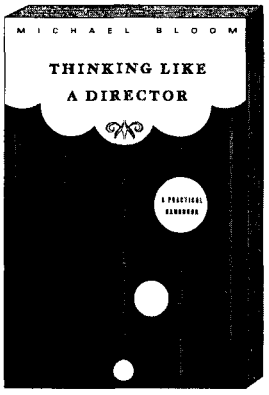

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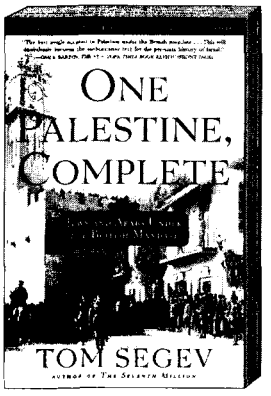

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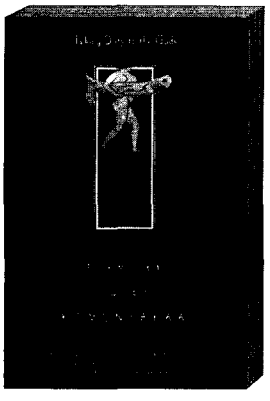

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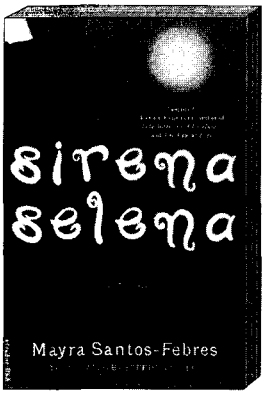

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AP/WIDE WORLD

BANNED IN BENARES

WHEN THE BRITISH COLONIAL ENTERPRISE ON the Indian subcontinent received its first major blow in the mid-nineteenth century, it was apparently a substance as innocuous as animal fat that stoked the fires of rebellion. Known variously as the 1857 Mutiny or the first Indian war of independence, the war is generally said to have been set off by the presence of beef and pork fat in the British-issued greased cartridges that Hindu and Muslim soldiers had to bite off before loading into their rifles.

Of course, the uprising had a number of political and economic causes, but the Hindu ban on eating beef has been a flash point in India ever since. Upholding the protected status of the cow became a rallying point for extremist Hindu groups in the late nineteenth century. More than a hundred years later, in a country now ruled by the Hindu right-wing BJP, the politics of beef remains contentious. When the Delhi University historian D.N. Jha recently challenged the prevailing attitudes about cows and beef, he was denounced by the government, and his book on the subject was pulled from the country's shelves.

In August, Jha, a reputable scholar of ancient Indian history, published *Holy Cow: Beef in Indian Dietary Traditions* (Matrix Books), in which he argues that the current iconic status of the cow would have made little sense to the ancestors of present-day Hindus. The widespread assumption that beef eating was foreign to the subcontinent until it was introduced by Muslim invaders in the twelfth century is incorrect, insists Jha; not only were the ancient Hindus of the Vedic Age no strangers to the pleasures of beef, but the now prohibited meat once had an important position in the hierarchy of offerings made to Hindu gods.

Though right-wing commentators often fulminate against what they see as anti-Hinduism in the work of India's generally secular historians, the reaction to *Holy Cow* has been particularly fierce. The hostility began even before

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A historian argues that Hindus have not always prohibited the eating of beef.

publication, when Jha received threatening phone calls after a chapter was posted on a Web site. During correction of the final proofs, the book's original publisher withdrew from the project, saying, "I will be lynched if I publish that Bhagawan Mahavira ate meat"—a reference to the founder of the vegetarian Jain religion. (Jha says he is not the first historian to have considered the possibility that Jain monks and their founder ate meat in certain extraordinary situations, and he says his work never disputes the fact that Jain texts generally endorse strict vegetarianism.) Hindu priests in Benares have held demonstrations against the book, describing the author as part of "anti-national forces trying to destroy Indian culture and tradition."

Upon the book's publication, groups loyal to the BJP—whose election manifesto routinely promises to ban the slaughter of "cows and cow-progeny" in those states where it is not already illegal—immediately demanded the author's arrest and a ban on the book. Jha has not been arrested, but after a number of religious and animal-rights groups filed petitions, a court in the southern city of Hyderabad ordered the publisher to desist from printing, publishing, and releasing the book anywhere in India until further hearings are held. As a result, says Jha, *Holy Cow* is "for all intents and purposes banned."

In today's India, sectarian politics has ensured that beef is eaten only by those considered on the fringes of mainstream society. Because it is cheaper than mutton or chicken, beef is often the food of India's poor. Hindus with liberal tendencies eat it, but the fundamentalist right usually attributes the practice to the misguided secularism of communists. Even in states where it can be sold openly, beef is rarely found in markets with a predominantly Hindu clientele.

It wasn't always so, says Jha. Drawing on a wide range of secular and sacred sources dating back to the second millennium B.C., he concludes that the ancient cow was "a combination of paradoxes"—its mouth was considered impure, but cow products (milk, bile, urine) were often used in purification rites. Jha thus contends that the static tradition his accusers cling to is not borne out by rational historical inquiry, which instead reveals that "the image of the cow projected by Indian textual traditions...over the centuries is polymorphic." His chronological study of sacred and secular texts contains abundant references to ritual slaughter of cattle and the consumption of the sacrificial meat, as well as to archaeological evidence of bone fragments ("often with cut marks") and "the therapeutic use of meats." It is only around the middle of the first millennium A.D., Jha says, that Hindu texts began to disapprove of the killing of cows and the consumption of beef.

Jha ascribes these developments to a shift in rural lifestyle from a pastoral mode to a more hierarchical agrarian society. This change, he writes, was accompanied by the "gradual replacement of Vedic sacrifice" by a new religious system in which an "emphasis on the donation of land and other agrarian resources like...cattle...made it necessary for the law givers to forbid the killing of kine." Older dietary habits did not die out, however, and while penances were laid down for eating beef or killing a cow, such acts were usually treated as minor sins, not major infractions.

Though Jha is known for his combative political stance—he does not hesitate to call Hindu ideologues "ignoramuses" in his preface—he acknowledges that the controversy over the history of beef eating is "more than a century old" and that many scholars, including conservative Sanskritists, have understood that beef "formed an important item of food in ancient India." Somewhat bemused by the attention his scholarly tract is getting, he nonetheless laments the tendency of dominant Hindu groups to divide Indian society into pure selves and demonized others. Jha refers to ethnic riots that begin with Hindus throwing pig flesh into mosques and Muslims flinging beef into temples as contemporary examples of such destructive patterns of behavior. He himself is a Brahmin and a vegetarian by habit. "But if a situation so demands," he says, "I eat nonvegetarian food, including beef, without any sense of guilt. To others I appear a bad eater, but I enjoy whatever food I eat."

SIDDHARTHA DEB

BEFORE SELMA

IT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A NADIR IN THE African-American experience and a twilight zone in American historiography. Not even the name of this grim period is quite understood. "Jim Crow" derives from the early-nineteenth-century blackface minstrelsy act of Thomas "Daddy" Rice, but how the term came to describe the system of apartheid that ruled the South from the 1890s through the 1950s remains unclear. For while historians have flocked to study slavery, Reconstruction, and the civil rights movement

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in recent decades, they have given the years in between little attention. "Oversimplified, static, and without nuance, the historiography of Jim Crow became a tale of total oppression, on the one hand, and passive submission, on the other," recalls Duke University historian William Chafe in the introduction to *Remembering Jim Crow,* a sequel to the New Press's enormously successful collection of Works Progress Administration (WPA) oral histories of former slaves, *Remembering Slavery.*

The new volume contains interviews from Duke's Behind the Veil oral-history project, begun more than a decade ago by Chafe and his colleagues Raymond Gavins and Robert Korstad in response to the dearth of source material on the Jim Crow era. From the beginning, the project was imbued with a sense of urgency, for African Americans who remembered the era were dying out. In the largest undertaking of its kind since the WPA's depression-era interviews with ex-slaves, graduate students fanned out across the South each summer from 1993 to 1995, completing as many as three grueling three-and-a-half-hour interviews a day. Ultimately, the project visited twenty-five communities ("urban/rural, industrial/agricultural, Piedmont/Delta, rice/cotton," writes Chafe in the introduction) in ten states, collecting 1,265 oral histories. In the words of Leslie Brown, a graduate student research coordinator, it was "a massive, massive amount" of work. "A lot of blood, sweat, and tears went into this project, and a lot of frustration.... I'm not sure that the faculty understands how hard people worked to make it happen," says Brown, now an assistant professor at Washington University in St. Louis. "And we didn't get a book out of it."

The legacy of racism was still painfully evident in many regions, hindering interview efforts. The project directors were committed to using interracial teams of interviewers, but this was not always easy: Some informants responded to white graduate students with fear and were reluctant to talk about racial violence or the more bitter aspects of segregation in their presence. Nonetheless, the interview excerpts in *Remembering Jim Crow* suggest the informants' determination to add their experiences to the historical record. Before describing a white man's rape of his nine-year-old sister, Stine George says, "I shall never forget this, and this is something nobody ever knew because we don't tell it. I wouldn't tell it now because it's painful, it will be painful to even tell it, but with what you are doing, I'll tell it." Equally harrowing moments are relived by others. Arthur Searles recounts how an acquaintance was summoned to the local courthouse, only to be shot dead by the sheriff in broad daylight and then tied to a truck and dragged around the town square. Willie Harrell describes in detail a sharecropping existence virtually indistinguishable from slavery. Even facts revealed offhandedly are grim, such as the revelation that well into the twentieth century, blacks needed passes—not unlike those associated with the pre–Civil War South and apartheid South Africa—to travel in Baker County, Georgia.

BETTMANN/CORBIS

SEGREGATED DRINKING FOUNTAINS IN THE JIM CROW SOUTH

And yet these accounts are not solely a chronicle of defeat and despair. In recent years, historians have emphasized how resistance to oppression can take many forms, from work slowdowns to church building. This concept has been widely applied to slavery and is now beginning to shape the nascent historiography on Jim Crow. "We weren't interested so much in race relations and the structures of segregation as we were in daily African-American life," explains Korstad of his project's ambition. "We were interested in more nuanced understandings of everyday resistance, whether it was a maid spitting in the soup or the songs people sang."

The Behind the Veil informants clearly understood how significant the everyday details of their lives were. They tell how desperately poor parents in rural areas, where the school year ran only four months, paid teachers in vegetables, milk, and eggs to teach their children for an extra month. One woman tells how she quit her job as a domestic to protest the humiliation of being called "nigger" by a six-year-old. Another tells how she fended off the sexual advances of an employer: "If a black man done that to a white woman, you'd be the first to get here and find a limb to hang him to," she remembers telling him indignantly, "so if you would hang the black

> The interviewers were interested in everyday resistance to Jim Crow, from work slowdowns to church building.

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man about doing it, you think I'm going to let you do it to me?"

The speakers in *Remembering Jim Crow* reveal not only their own stories, but also factually detailed information that they inherited from their elders. Ann Pointer remembers her grandfather talking about "the stars falling in 1833"—that year's Leonid meteor shower—and explains how oral genealogies helped families torn apart by slavery to identify lost relatives well into the twentieth century. Chafe cites the striking similarities between accounts as further evidence of their historical value. And yet these testimonies are much more than catalogs of facts and events. They have an intangible significance too. How else to explain the widespread popularity of oral histories such as Studs Terkel's books and *Remembering Slavery*? Sometimes memories take shapes that are as compelling as the events they describe—maybe more so. And sometimes the ways in which memories deviate from one another—from reality, even—are starkly revealing.

One researcher went on to study the differing ways in which blacks and whites remembered their shared past.

Chafe acknowledges that exaggeration and selectivity can and do shape memory. "Veterans of the Jim Crow experience understandably point to instances where they or their friends engaged in heroic resistance," he writes in the introduction. "I think that all of us want to remember our best moments, even though we recall less noble moments," he adds now. "It's something we do to uphold our sense of self."

Of course, that's also true for whites who lived during Jim Crow. After the project was completed, researcher Kate Ellis returned to one community, Iberia Parish, to study the differing ways blacks and whites remembered the past. She recounts her work in *Remembering Jim Crow*'s companion radio documentary, produced by American Radio Works and scheduled to air on National Public Radio in November. Iberia Parish is southern Louisiana bayou country, a place once thick with sugarcane and rice plantations and a place where John Volter, a black resident featured in *Remembering Jim Crow*, remembers Ku Klux Klan night raiders' attempts to frighten his family into abandoning its farm.

Ellis found that Iberia's white people remembered life under Jim Crow very, very differently. Typical was the response of a ninety-one-year-old woman who had grown up on a plantation surrounded by tenant farmers and recalled black people as content. "They had a little church back there and they would sing the most beautiful gospel music," she said. "And their way of life, I think they were happier than the white people. Because nothing worried them, you know?"

KATE JULIAN

IT'S A SHAME ABOUT RAYMOND

PHILOSOPHER AND JOURNALIST, HISTORIAN and sociologist, Raymond Aron was every bit the French intellectual par excellence. But while the names of such contemporaries as Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus still trip off many a Francophile's tongue, the name Raymond Aron is more likely to elicit a "Raymond who?" When Aron is remembered today, it is most often for *The Opium of the Intellectuals*, a central text in the literature of anticommunism. Yet Aron was much more than a polemicist against Soviet Marxism. In his long career, he broached a vast range of subjects: metaphysics, the philosophy of history, French politics, Marx and Weber, international relations, nuclear strategy. A one-man band of the social sciences, he wrote in a cool, dispassionate voice, classical in its elegance and restraint.

For the American reader, however, appreciating Aron can prove difficult. His works demand considerable knowledge of French history and politics, and until recently their English-language translations have been out of print. But there are signs that an Aron revival is afoot. Transaction Publishers is bringing out new editions of Aron's most important titles, including *The Opium of the Intellectuals* and *In Defense of Decadent Europe*, an eclectic meditation on the fate of liberal democracy. (Next spring, Basic Books will publish a miscellany of Aron's journalism, *The Dawn of Universal History*.) Brian Anderson, co-editor of the Transaction series and author of *Raymond Aron: The Recovery of the Political* (Rowman & Littlefield), argues that Aron well deserves a place in the bookstore. "I was struck by the fact that so much of Aron's work is out of print," he says. "Here is this towering figure of French intellectual life, and none of his books is readily available in English, and yet you've almost every scribbling of Louis Althusser and other French Marxists."

Whether or not these publishing events portend a full-scale revival remains to be seen. Still, Aron's place in postwar intellectual life is unassailable. Born in 1905 to a prosperous Jewish family, he attended France's elite Ecole Normale Supérieure, where he immersed himself deeply in German thought. Along with Georges Bataille, Jacques Lacan, and seemingly every other educated Parisian of the time, he attended the philosopher Alexandre Kojève's famous seminars on Hegel. In 1938, Aron defended his doctoral thesis on the philosophy of history before a rather stodgy group of

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positivist-minded sociologists and philosophers at the Sorbonne. "Everyone, according to his idea of himself, chooses his past," the young Aron wrote, a sentiment that could have been uttered by Sartre. In many ways, Aron was the father of French existentialism. Indeed, he so influenced Sartre that the latter called his *Being and Nothingness* merely an "ontological introduction" to Aron's work.

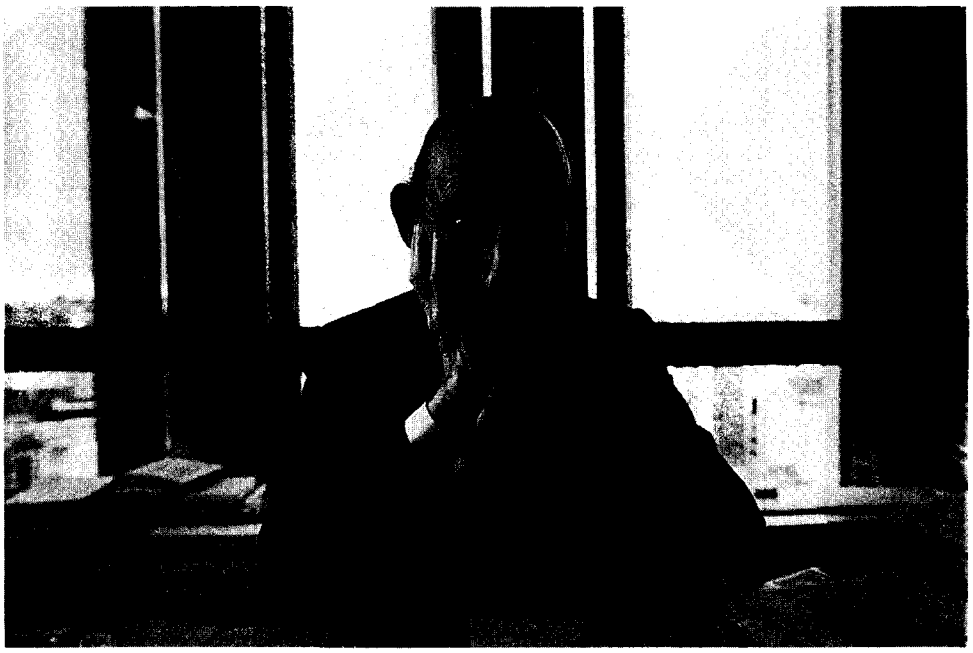
Aron was poised for a brilliant academic career, but World War II interrupted it. In London, he joined the French government in exile and honed his journalistic skills as editor of *France libre.* Following the war, he dabbled briefly in politics: At the behest of his friend André Malraux, he went to work for de Gaulle's Ministry of Information in 1946. But Aron preferred to remain outside government. In 1947, he joined the staff of *Le Figaro,* where he wrote weekly commentaries on French politics and contemporary affairs. He also went on to a distinguished teaching career at the Sorbonne.

From the start of the Cold War, Aron was a vocal critic of prominent intellectuals like Sartre who lent their considerable prestige to the Soviet Union. He himself was obsessed with Marx—he arguably knew more about Marx than his Marxist rivals did—but he admired Marx the sociologist and economic thinker, not Marx the revolutionary rabble-rouser. Published in 1955, *The Opium of the Intellectuals* is a skeptical contribution to the sociology of intellectuals, their habits of mind, their predilections. In many ways, it is a neat counterpoint to the social critic and *littérateur* Julien Benda's 1927 work, *La Trahison des clercs.* But whereas Benda questioned those intellectuals who succumbed to the passions of the right—fascism, nationalism, anti-Semitism—Aron addressed the belief system of the left. His primary goal was to debunk three closely linked "myths"—the myths of the proletariat, the left, and the revolution. Together, they held the modern left-wing intellectual in thrall, like the sham icons of a pseudo religion. While Aron admired the "constructive" legacies of the French Revolution, he contended that revolution is not a preoccupation of the working classes—it is a conceit of the thinking classes. "The revolutions of the twentieth century," he wrote, "have not been proletarian revolutions: they have been thought up and carried out by intellectuals."

For his efforts, Aron was criticized by the usual suspects. Fellow-traveling writers like Claude Roy trashed him in the communist press, and Sartre stopped talking to him. (Their friendship was already strained.) Aron penned a forceful rebuttal to his critics in the literary journal *Preuves,* restating both his criticisms of Marxist irrationalism and his confidence in the rationalizing, modernizing course of European democracies. Leftist intellectuals, he contended, were not only "sacrificing the best part of the legacy of the Enlightenment—respect for reason, liberalism—but they are sacrificing it in an age when there is no reason for the sacrifice, at least in the West, since economic expansion in no sense requires the suppression of parliaments, parties, or the free discussion of ideas."

Two decades later, Aron was still mounting similar arguments. Though he had some sympathy for the student protesters of 1968, his assessment of their political legacy was scathing. He grappled with the consequences of *les événements* in the pages of his 1977 book, *In Defense of Decadent Europe.* It is a strange, searching work: part warning against the military might of the Soviet Union; part sociological treatise; part economic analysis; part somber, pained meditation on democracy and the "Marxist-Leninist mystification" of Western intellectuals. "By what aberration or ignorance of history," he asked, "do [they] denounce as 'repressive' the societies that legalize abortion, that tolerate homosexual relationships,...that have, for the most part, abolished the death penalty, and that do not refuse freedom of speech to anyone, whether it be to speak in favor of pornography, or the Baader-Meinhof gang, or the wildest of possible extravagances?"

Aron's anticommunism endeared him to many American conservatives and cold-warriors, among them his friends Edward Shils and Henry



RAYMOND ARON, 1983

Unfortunately, Raymond Aron is not as well known today as Jean-Paul Sartre or Albert Camus.

DAVID AND PETER TUMLEY

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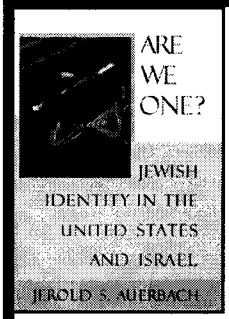

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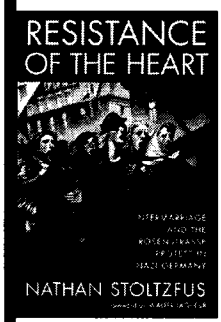

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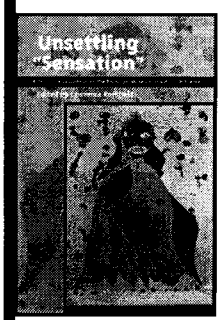

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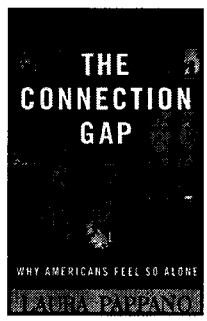

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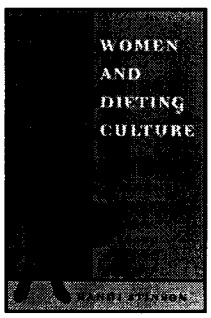

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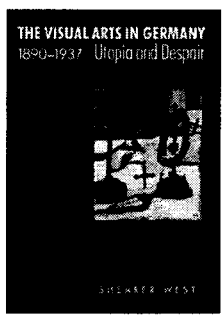

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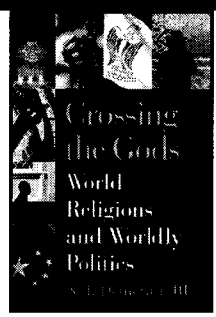

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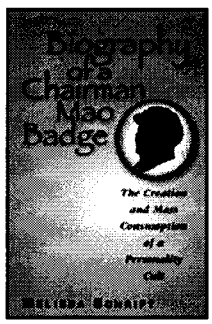

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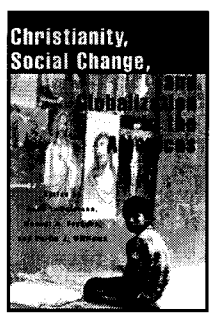

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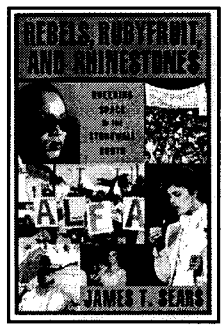

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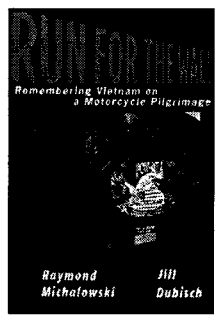

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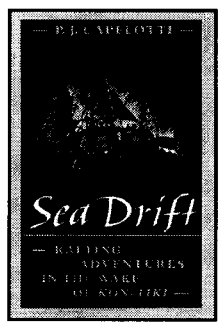

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Kissinger. But though Aron was a member of the anticommunist Congress for Cultural Freedom and gave qualified support to the war in Vietnam, his politics are hard to categorize. A socialist in his youth and an intermittent Gaullist as an adult, an anticommunist intellectual who served on the board of Sartre's *Les Temps modernes,* the house organ of the intellectual left, Aron was a political and philosophical maverick who found himself constantly at odds with just about everyone around him. His characteristic aloofness from both the left and the right was dramatically manifested in his position on the brutal war that France fought in Algeria from 1954 to 1962. In his 1957 book, *The Algerian Tragedy,* he argued for French withdrawal from Algeria on the pragmatic grounds that Algeria was an underdeveloped country whose loss would not mean "the end of France." Ultimately, he reasoned, "Algeria is a drain." In making this argument, Aron was concerned with what served French interests, not Algerian interests. In the words of James Le Sueur, author of *Uncivil War* (Pennsylvania), a recent study of French intellectuals and the Algerian question, Aron lent the anticolonialist movement "his logic but not his heart."

What drove Aron? How do we best describe him? To his admirers, he was that rarest of species: a liberal with a French accent. According to Anderson, Aron "belongs to the tradition of Tocqueville and Montesquieu: a self-critical, chastened Enlightenment, aware of the imperfections of man, the importance of history, the constancy of the tragic, and the limits of rationality." Though he could scale the metaphysical heights as well as Sartre, his sociological turn of mind led him toward the analysis of modern society's everyday workings. He had little patience for the abstract moralizing of Sartre and his ilk. French intellectuals, he once said, seek not to understand the world but to denounce it; they fail to "think politically" (a favorite phrase of his).

When Aron died in 1983, he was widely mourned. In the 1970s, as French intellectuals began to lose their affection for all things Marxist, Aron was seen as the linchpin of the new French liberalism. He has influenced a whole range of French political philosophers, among them Luc Ferry, Alain Renaut, and André Glucksmann. And his stature continues to grow. In the opinion of the historian Tony Judt, Aron "will in time be recognized as the greatest intellectual dissenter of his age and the man who laid the foundations for a fresh departure in French public debate."

MATTHEW PRICE

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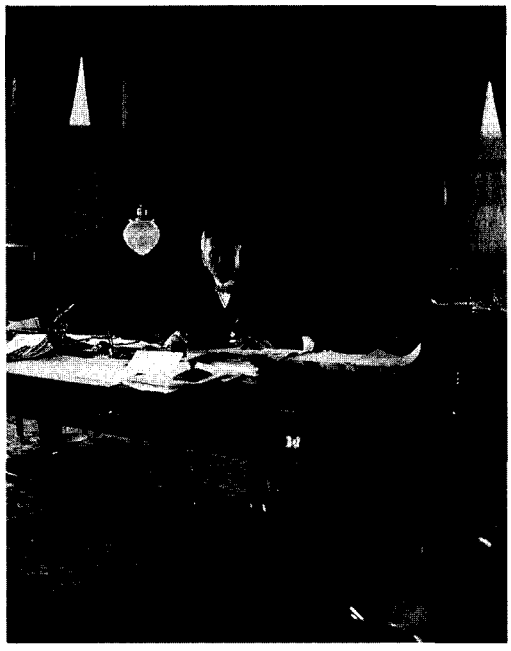

DAVID ROWLAND FRANCIS, 1904

THE MAN WHO SNUBBED LENIN

FOR MANY YEARS, AMERICAN POLICY MAKERS have had to face a hostile question: Who lost Russia? In the 1990s, fingers pointed at the Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs for advocating an immersion in market capitalism and then at various members of the Clinton administration for behaving as if Boris Yeltsin embodied democratic reform. But the first American to be blamed for losing Russia was David Rowland Francis, a St. Louis grain merchant and onetime Missouri governor who served as Woodrow Wilson's ambassador to Russia during the revolutions of 1917.

Francis's performance did not earn him much praise. Dislodged from his embassy by political ferment and forced by illness to abandon his post the following year, Francis returned home to face a hostile Congress, whose members accused him of mishandling his portfolio and thereby aiding the Bolshevik accession to power. Fiorello La Guardia, then a representative from New York, derided Francis, whose previous experience with Russia did not go much further than viewing the tsarist regime's folkloric display at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, as "absolutely hopelessly incompetent." The British operative Bruce Lockhart later reinforced this view when he wrote, "Old Francis doesn't know a Left Social Revolutionary from a potato."

> "Old Francis doesn't know a Left Social Revolutionary from a potato," said one critic.

But a new biography of Francis argues that the Midwestern ambassador was no rube. "Francis was a much more complex man than the histo-

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"I will never talk to a damn Bolshevik," Francis vowed after the October Revolution.

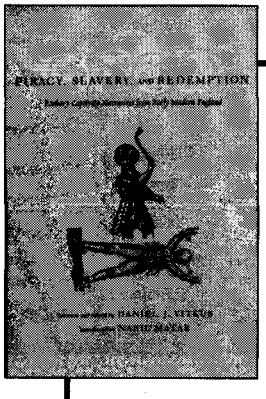
rians of the intervening period realized," says Harper Barnes, a former editor and critic-at-large at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the author of *Standing on a Volcano: The Life and Times of David Rowland Francis* (Southern Illinois). Devoting half of his pages to Francis's Russian sojourn, Barnes tells of an independent-minded and unceremonious diplomat who, though flawed, did what he could to help Russia emerge from despotism before it tumbled into another form of tyranny.

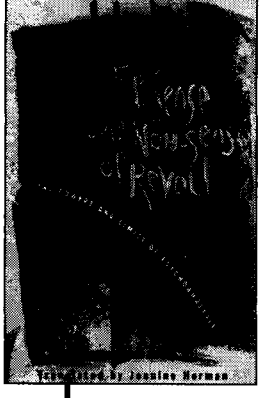
In April 1916, Francis sailed for Russia with instructions to reformulate the tsar's bilateral trade agreement with the United States. On the boat, he made the acquaintance of Matilda de Cramm, an attractive Russian woman who had left her husband behind in New York. With Francis's wife back in St. Louis, Mme de Cramm became Francis's French teacher and frequent companion in the Russian capital.

Francis's commercial brief was soon overshadowed by the desperate situation in Russia, a crisis brought on by the war against Germany and a particularly brutal winter. In the February Revolution, which replaced the tsar with a representative government, Francis saw a parallel to the early days of the American Revolution, and he successfully persuaded Wilson to be the first Western leader to recognize the liberal provisional government led by Aleksandr Kerensky. As 1917 wore on, Francis warned Washington about the growing power of the radical Soviet, the council of workers' and soldiers' deputies. After the October Revolution brought Lenin and Trotsky to power, Francis did not hurry to recognize them, swearing, "I will never talk to a damn Bolshevik."

Francis's subordinates at the embassy saw this hostility as counterproductive; some of them admired the ambitions, if not the methods, of the Bolsheviks. Meanwhile, cables from Washington raised concerns about the ambassador's intimacy with Mme de Cramm; it turned out that her estranged, globe-trotting husband was a German spy and she herself was suspected of espionage. Francis defended Mme de Cramm's honor but also promised to maintain his distance from her. It was a promise he did not keep.

Without clear instructions from Washington, Francis decided to ignore the Bolsheviks and speak directly to the Russian populace, promising them American food aid and urging the starving army to stay in the war against Germany. He did finally agree to meet with Lenin to appeal for the





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release of the Romanian ambassador, who had been accused of anti-Soviet behavior and arrested, but their relations remained chilly. Soon after, fearing that street mobs would have little regard for his diplomatic status, Francis withdrew 350 miles inland to Vologda, a railroad junction that became an ad hoc political hub, and later to the northern port of Archangel, which was occupied by several thousand U.S. infantrymen and other Allied forces. Still hopeful that democracy and order would prevail in Russia, Francis wrote to his son that he was willing to "sacrifice not only all my worldly possessions but life itself in this cause," and he begged Washington to organize an American-Slavic legion to enter the fray against both Germany and the Red Army. President Wilson, however, did not think the Americans could maintain an army in the Russian north. "While I would wish Francis to know how much we admire the spirit and success with which he had guided matters at Archangel," he dryly wrote to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, "I think we ought to apprise him of the limiting facts." In November 1918, kidney stones and an enlarged prostate led to Francis's evacuation. After testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he returned home to St. Louis, where he died in 1927.

Although Francis's colleagues held him in disdain, the American ambassador, Barnes says, was more effective than many seasoned Allied diplomats who "found it exceedingly difficult to make major decisions without clear instructions and policies from home." Barnes adds that historians' low opinion of Francis may have had to do with what he calls "the desperately maintained illusion" that Stalin betrayed Lenin's democratic ideal: "Francis recognized from the beginning that Lenin was a brilliant, ruthless fanatic, and he said so repeatedly and in the strongest terms, running against the main current of conventional academic wisdom."

Another person to see danger early was Philip Jordan, Francis's African-American valet. *Standing on a Volcano* is the first book on Francis to make use of the diaries and letters of Jordan, whose reports from his shopping trips and other urban explorations provide an additional perspective on the ten days that shook the world.

"Just as I started to gather up what I had bought about three hundred Bulsheviks [*sic*] rushed in the market with cocked rifles," Jordan wrote. "After living in a wild country like this for 18 months it makes you feel like there is only two decent places to live one is heaven the other is America."

BLAKE ESKIN

BLANKET CONDEMNATION

"SUPERSTITION AND LIES OF THE DEVIL." That's what the Spanish bishop Diego de Landa called the five thousand Mayan idols and codices he ordered burned in 1562. Most historians and anthropologists would hardly hesitate to characterize such an act as cultural imperialism. But what do you call it when a group burns icons of its own culture?

In the fall of 1992, a group of Pentecostals from the Alaskan Tlingit tribe burned a number of "non-Christian" items. No one knows exactly what was consumed in the bonfire, but the tribal elders who examined the ashes found the remains of rock-and-roll albums, pornography, liquor bottles, and jackets and mugs from the local Native American economic corporation. They also found several buttons that appeared to come from traditional button blankets, which form an integral part of native dancing ceremonies.

The bonfire disturbed many villagers, in part because it reminded them of a turn-of-the-century incident in which Christian converts convinced locals to burn their totem poles in hopes of luring a mission-sponsored salmon cannery to the village. The 1992 burning was harder to fathom, however, because there had been no discernible financial incentive. While most of the natives in the village consider themselves Christian (but not Pentecostal), they see no contradiction between practicing their faith and maintaining a strong connection to traditional Tlingit culture as symbolized by items like button blankets. Why, then, did Tlingit Pentecostals lump in button blankets with alcohol and pornography as emblems of the non-Christian life?

That's the question that Kirk Dombrowski, an anthropologist at the City University of New York, tries to answer in *Against Culture: Development, Politics, and Religion in Indian Alaska* (Nebraska). Dombrowski didn't go to Alaska intending to research Pentecostalism; he wanted to look at how a collapsing cannery industry affected social relationships in the region. "But you couldn't miss Pentecostalism," he says. His first experience with Pentecostalism came after a day of seal hunting with a friend, when Dombrowski was invited to attend a service. "I wasn't going to go," he recalls. "But it had been a long day—about twelve hours—with nothing to eat, and I thought there might be food there." He found the service "startling,

Why did members of the Alaskan Tlingit tribe burn items that symbolized their own native culture?

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CHILKAT DANCER DRESSED IN TRADITIONAL TLINGIT STYLE

TOM BEAN/CORBIS

almost breathtaking." People he thought he knew well were "suddenly practicing gifts of faith"—speaking in tongues and appearing to be physically possessed by the Holy Spirit. "It was clearly so important to them," he explains, "that I had to change my focus."

"You can't stop being black," Dombrowski says. "But you can stop being Native American."

Dombrowski's new focus became the social and economic origins of the button-blanket burning. To understand the conflict between native Pentecostals and traditional tribal culture, Dombrowski explains, one must first understand the peculiar dynamics of Native American identity in the United States. Unlike other "subordinated peoples," he writes, Native Americans are under great economic pressure to "maintain clear barriers between their own culture and that of mainstream America." Tax exemptions, reservation housing, and shares in casino or logging profits are all contingent on preserving their distinct cultural identity—their "Indianness."

In 1977, for example, the Mashpee Wampanoag Indians of Massachusetts were denied legal rights to land because a federal court deemed them not a tribe. In effect, Dombrowski claims, the Mashpee were denied their claim because of their success in assimilating into the Euro-American community. Therein lies the unique cultural predicament of many Native Americans: "As my African-American students remind me," Dombrowski says, "racial profiling proves you can't stop being black. But you can stop being Native American."

In southeast Alaska, these issues came to a head with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971. After large amounts of crude oil were discovered there in the 1960s, the U.S. government became eager to resolve outstanding native land claims. To that end, ANCSA established a number of public corporations to which cash payments and land entitlements were transferred, and Native Americans in Alaska were made shareholders in the corporations. Through logging and oil sales, the brutal poverty of some communities was partially alleviated. But natives born after 1971 were not included in the corporations, and some natives in the southeast who chose not to affiliate themselves with a particular village were denied some of the most lucrative of ANCSA's benefits.

In Dombrowski's telling, the crudity of ANCSA's conception of native identity ensured that "only a fixed number of individuals would be allowed to participate as natives" in the village's political, economic, and social life. This development led excluded members of the community to look elsewhere for a sense of belonging. Enter Pentecostalism, which had been introduced to Alaska by missionaries in the 1970s but "really caught on in the early 1980s," Dombrowski notes—"exactly when the impact of ANCSA hit the villages."

Pentecostalism and its uncompromising theology largely failed to take root among middle-class tribal members who had benefited from ANCSA. But it proved popular with the most marginalized in the community—alcoholics, drug abusers, young people, and the poorest of the poor. The economic development of the village had led to a distinctly cultural rupture in the community. Those who converted to Pentecostalism came to see their new faith as thoroughly distinct from their native identities. So when native Pentecostals burned items from their non-Christian lives, jackets and mugs from the local ANCSA branch and button blankets were natural items for inclusion.

For those Christian villagers who benefited from ANCSA, Dombrowski suggests, the use of button blankets in traditional dances is a way to feel "closer to their ancestors" or simply to obtain "straight information about Native culture." But for Pentecostals who were defined out of their culture by the ANCSA, he notes, "there is one God, one way, one meaning—relativism in culture doesn't work."

If he's right that the cultural division at the heart of the button-blanket burning was a result of shortsighted policies of economic development, Dombrowski says, the implications are clear: "Native people should have more input into defining their own culture."

JOSH SAUNDERS

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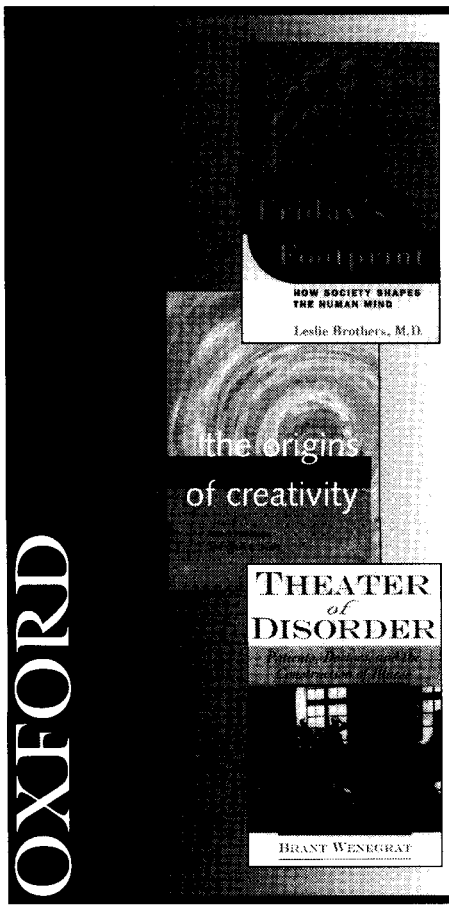

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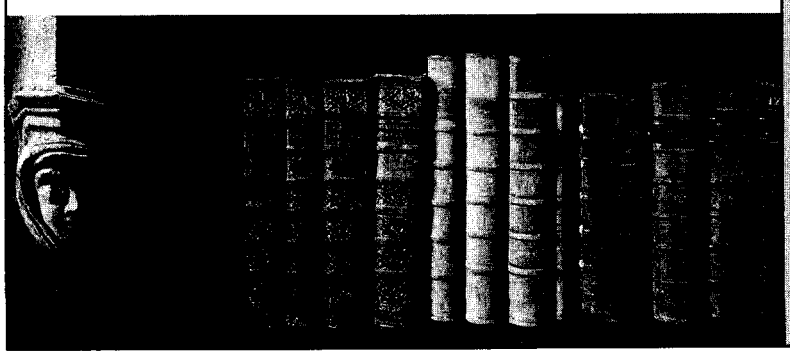

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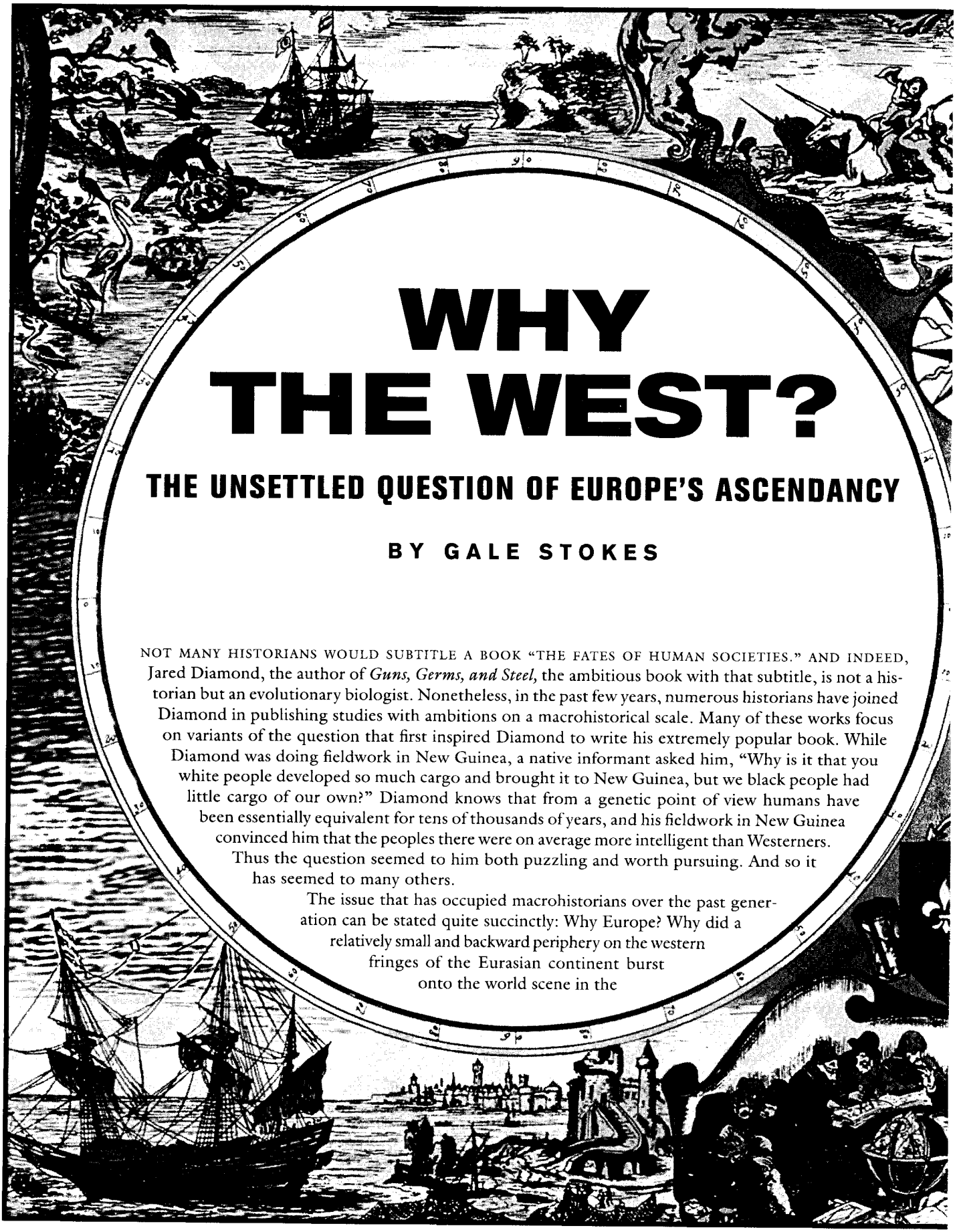

WHY THE WEST?

THE UNSETTLED QUESTION OF EUROPE'S ASCENDANCY

BY GALE STOKES

NOT MANY HISTORIANS WOULD SUBTITLE A BOOK "THE FATES OF HUMAN SOCIETIES." AND INDEED, Jared Diamond, the author of *Guns, Germs, and Steel,* the ambitious book with that subtitle, is not a historian but an evolutionary biologist. Nonetheless, in the past few years, numerous historians have joined Diamond in publishing studies with ambitions on a macrohistorical scale. Many of these works focus on variants of the question that first inspired Diamond to write his extremely popular book. While Diamond was doing fieldwork in New Guinea, a native informant asked him, "Why is it that you white people developed so much cargo and brought it to New Guinea, but we black people had little cargo of our own?" Diamond knows that from a genetic point of view humans have been essentially equivalent for tens of thousands of years, and his fieldwork in New Guinea convinced him that the peoples there were on average more intelligent than Westerners. Thus the question seemed to him both puzzling and worth pursuing. And so it has seemed to many others.

The issue that has occupied macrohistorians over the past generation can be stated quite succinctly: Why Europe? Why did a relatively small and backward periphery on the western fringes of the Eurasian continent burst onto the world scene in the

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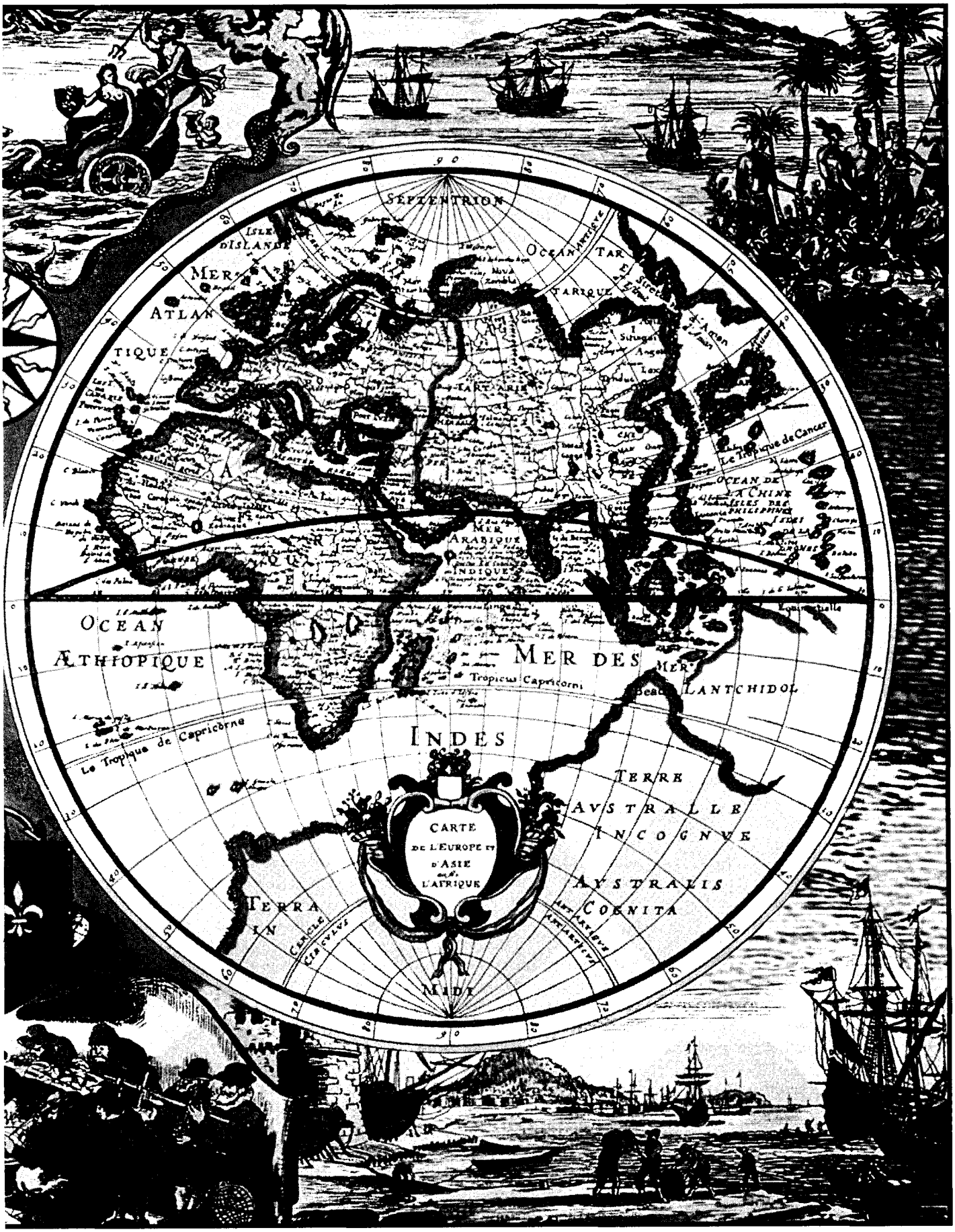

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sixteenth century and by the nineteenth century become a dominant force in almost all corners of the earth? Until recently, two responses have dominated. The first is that something unique in the European past lay behind its eventual economic development and power. This something unique is often seen as a universal good—such as reason, freedom, or individualism—that first developed in Europe but ultimately relates, or should relate, to all human beings. The best-known recent study in this school is *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (Norton) by the now emeritus Harvard historian David S. Landes.

The second response is that there was nothing particularly special about Europe until at least 1500, and probably not until 1800. In this view, Europe's rise to dominance was due not to any exceptional qualities but to its ability to seize vast amounts of gold and silver in the New World and create other forms of wealth through colonial trade. Proponents of this idea tend to see the last thousand years as dominated primarily by the cultures and economies of Asia, especially China, with a relatively brief and probably transient burst of European power in the last quarter of the millennium. The most successful synthetic study in this vein is *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (California) by the world-system theorist Andre Gunder Frank.

Both of these approaches tend to be polemical. For example, Landes calls criticism of scholarship that emphasizes European uniqueness "simply anti-intellectual; also contrary to fact." Frank believes his analysis "pulls the historical rug out from under the *anti*-historical/scientific—really ideological—Eurocentrism of Marx, Weber, Toynbee, Polanyi, Braudel, Wallerstein, and most other contemporary social theorists." Recently, however, a less polarized way of tackling macrohistorical issues has begun to emerge: the world-historical approach. World historians tend to see the past thousand years, and maybe even a longer period, as a series of interactions and encounters in which humanity as a whole participated in a vast adventure of development, the sources of which were varied and the impact of which was worldwide. These historians tend to focus on encounters and comparisons rather than on hegemony and dominance.

One touches on these issues with considerable trepidation. The low esteem in which professional historians have held such figures as Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee grows in part out of the conviction that their work was not properly grounded in detailed archival research. But macrohistory does not have to sacrifice rigor. William H. McNeill, one of the two universally admired macrohistorians—the other being Fernand Braudel—points out that the fundamental issue is not the scope of an inquiry but the skill with which a historian chooses questions and the integrity he or she brings to the task.

DAVID S. LANDES'S rich study unapologetically credits the world's economic and social progress over the last thousand years to "Western civilization and its dissemination." The reason, he believes, is that Europeans invented systematic economic development. Landes adds that three unique aspects of European culture were crucial ingredients in Europe's economic growth. First, science developed as an autonomous method of intellectual inquiry that successfully disengaged itself from the social constraints of organized religion and from the political constraints of centralized authority. Though Europe lacked a political center, its scholars benefited from the use of a single vehicle of communication: Latin. This common tongue facilitated an adversarial discourse in which new ideas about the physical world could be tested, demonstrated, and then accepted across the continent and eventually across the world.

Second, Landes espouses a generalized form of Max Weber's thesis that the values of work, initiative, and investment made the difference for Europe. Despite his emphasis on science, Landes does not stress the notion of rationality as such. In his view, "what counts is work, thrift, honesty, patience, [and] tenacity." The only route to economic success for individuals or states is working hard, spending less than you earn, and investing the rest in productive capacity. This is his fundamental explanation of the problem posed by his book's subtitle: "Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor." For historical reasons—an emphasis on private property, an experience of political pluralism, a temperate climate, an urban style—Europeans have, on balance, followed those practices and therefore have prospered.

Third, and perhaps most important, Europeans were learners. They "learned rather greedily," as Joel Mokyr put it in a review of Landes's book. Even if Europeans possessed indigenous technologies that gave them an advantage (spectacles, for example), as Landes believes they did, their most vital asset was the ability to assimilate knowledge from around the world and put it to use—as in borrowing the concept of zero and rediscovering Aristotle's *Logic* from the Arabs and taking paper and gunpowder from the Chinese via the Muslim world. Landes argues that a systematic resistance to learning from other cultures had become the greatest handicap of the Chinese by the eighteenth century and remains the greatest handicap of Arab countries today.

LANDES ARGUES THAT A RESISTANCE TO LEARNING FROM OTHER CULTURES WAS A HANDICAP FOR THE CHINESE AND REMAINS THE GREATEST HANDICAP FOR ARAB COUNTRIES TODAY.

Although his analysis of European expansion is almost nonexistent, Landes does not argue that Europeans were beneficent bearers of civilization to a benighted world. Rather, he relies on his own commonsense law: "When one group is strong enough to push another around and stands to gain by it, it will do so." In contrast to the new school of world historians, Landes believes that specific cultural values enabled technological advances that in turn made some Europeans strong enough to dominate people in other parts of the world. Europeans therefore pro-

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ceeded to do so with great viciousness and cruelty. By focusing on their victimization in this process, Landes holds, some postcolonial states have wasted energy that could have been put into productive work and investment. If one could sum up Landes's advice to these states in one sentence, it might be "Stop whining and get to work." This is particularly important, indeed hopeful, advice, he would argue, because success is not permanent. Advantages are not fixed, gains from trade are unequal, and different societies react differently to market signals. Therefore, not only is there hope for undeveloped countries, but developed countries have little cause to be complacent, because the current situation "will press hard" on them.

Despite this hint of possible European decline, the thrust of studies like Landes's is to identify those distinctive features of European civilization that lie behind Europe's rise to power and the creation of modernity more generally. Other historians have placed a greater emphasis on such features as liberty, individualism, and Christianity. In a review essay, the art historian Craig Clunas listed some of the less well known linkages that have been proposed between Western culture and modernity, including the propensities to think quantitatively, enjoy pornography, and consume sugar. All such proposals assume the fundamental aptness of the question: What elements of European civilization led to European success? It is a short leap from this assumption to outright triumphalism. The paradigmatic book of this school is, of course, *The End of History and the Last Man,* in which Francis Fukuyama argues that after the collapse of Nazism and communism in the twentieth century, the only remaining model for human organization in the industrial and communications ages is a combination of market economics and limited, pluralist, democratic government.

THIS KIND of confidence provokes heavy fire, as well as resentment and anger. Critics argue that the undoubted ascendancy of Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was substantially less inevitable than most have assumed and was certainly not due to any inherent European superiorities. Instead of growing out of unique European experiences, Western domination was almost accidental; it has been brief, and it will be short-lived. In *The Colonizer's Model of the World,* the late James M. Blaut wrote that "the myth of the European miracle is the doctrine that the rise of Europe resulted, essentially, from historical forces generated within Europe itself." Blaut assembles a multitude of data undermining the demographic, climatic, and geographic arguments for European uniqueness. He makes a strong case that European success was due primarily to Europe's good fortune in being well placed geographically to exploit the gold and silver of the Americas and the colonial trade that these resources made possible.

While Blaut presents the most systematic critique of Eurocentrism, Andre Gunder Frank offers the most thorough alternative explanation of the course of modern history. Frank does not give an inch to Europe, which in his view made little or no contribution to its nineteenth-century hegemony. Early-modern Europe was not more advanced "in any way than other regions of the world." "Europeans did not do anything—let alone modernize—by themselves." "The Europeans did not in any sense 'create' the world economic system itself nor develop world 'capitalism.'" "The Europeans had no exceptional, let alone superior, ethnic, rational, organizational, or spirit-of-capitalist advantages to offer, diffuse, or do anything else in Asia."

Instead, Frank argues, European successes were the result of a world economic system that has been in operation since at least 1400 and probably long before that time. As a structuralist, Frank believes that local and regional events take place within the system of trade linkages through which products and money are exchanged on a worldwide basis, or at least on a very large intercontinental scale. During most of the last thousand years, that system was centered on Asia, especially China, which under

LEFT: MERCHANTS DEPICTED ON A RIVERFRONT DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. RIGHT: A LATE-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHINESE WOODCUT ENTITLED 'THE WEAVING OF FLOWER'D SILKS, TWO WOMEN AT WORK.'

LEFT: BETTMANN/CORBIS; RIGHT: HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

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the Song dynasty of the tenth to thirteenth centuries experienced remarkable economic growth. Janet Abu-Lughod has argued that when this system began to decline, as part of a worldwide population decline in the fourteenth century, the stage was set for the emergence of the truly worldwide system of the post-Columbus era. Frank does not agree. Believing that the world system operates in the very long-term cycles of rise and decline identified by Nikolai Kondratieff early in the twentieth century, Frank argues that Asia began an "A" phase of economic upturn around 1400 that continued into the seventeenth century. Only when that cycle went into its "B" phase, or decline, did a rising cycle of European development pass it in about 1815. In other words, 1500 is not the dramatic milestone of a new era for Frank, as it is for many other historians, but rather a moment when a world system was restructured, or "inflected," because Europeans fortuitously stumbled onto the Western Hemisphere.

Examining the world economy of the sixteenth century, Frank identifies three areas of surplus production (India, China, and Southeast Asia) and four deficit regions (the Americas, Japan, Africa, and Europe). To obtain some of the surpluses of the former areas, the Americas and Japan exported specie, and Africa exported slaves. Europe, with nothing of great value to sell, achieved success by managing these exports. Frank particularly emphasizes the importance of silver. Because the price of silver was approximately twice as high in China as it was in Europe or the New World and because Europe had few products that the sophisticated Asian traders wanted, about one-quarter to one-third (and perhaps more) of the silver produced in the New World ended up in Asia, especially in China. This, and nothing more, Frank argues, is what provided the basis for European development. As he puts it, "The Europeans bought themselves a seat, and then even a whole railway car, on the Asian train."

As this formulation suggests, Frank tends even more toward overkill than Landes. According to Frank, Asians were superior or at least equal to Europeans in the fields of guns, ships, printing, textiles, metallurgy, and transport. He further believes that state institutions had little or no importance in shaping the world economic system. Even the Crusades were nothing more than Europe's effort "to plug its marginal economy more effectively into the new Afro-Eurasian dynamic." And, unlike Landes, Frank has very little room for people. For him, structure is all. For example: "It was this Kondratieff 'B' phase that generated the industrial revolution (as well as the American and French political revolutions)." Frank calls this approach "humanocentric." That is, rather than taking one relatively small group of human beings as his focus, he tries to comprehend humanity as a whole. There is merit in this idea. After all, in the long run of human experience, worldwide industrialization has taken but an instant. However, Frank's is a profoundly antihumanistic approach: Cycles occur and structures inflect, but human agents do not really exist.

THE WORLD SYSTEM PRODUCES CYCLES OF RISE AND DECLINE, FRANK ARGUES: WESTERN DOMINATION WAS ALMOST ACCIDENTAL. IT HAS BEEN BRIEF, AND IT WILL BE SHORT LIVED.

ONE OF THE few individuals who is mentioned by almost every author is Zheng He, a eunuch at the Chinese court who initiated a series of ocean voyages early in the fifteenth century. His initial treasure fleet consisted of 317 ships, the largest of which were four hundred feet long (compared with the eighty-five feet of Columbus's *Santa Maria*). The fleet, which carried twenty-seven thousand crewmen, was the biggest assembled for a single voyage until the twentieth century. The Chinese made seven major trips to the Indian Ocean, reaching as far as Madagascar. But because of internal political conflicts, the emperor eventually ordered the fleets destroyed and went so far as to ban ocean-going voyages and the building of ships with more than two masts.

Authors who begin from a European perspective almost uniformly stress Zheng He's significance. They adopt the same general explanation of why Europeans rather than Asians ultimately came to dominate the seas: China was a centralized empire and Europe was not. Jared Diamond's version of this conventional wisdom has a geographic twist. China, he notes, is a compact landmass with a relatively limited coastline, whereas Europe consists of numerous peninsulas and major islands with extensive coastlines. Therefore, when the Han of northwest China developed agriculture around 7500 B.C.E., they were able, over two or three thousand years, to spread their culture to the southeast, eliminate hundreds of indigenous peoples, and create a centralized state in a way not possible in Europe. If the central regime in China then wished to prohibit the construction of ships with more than two masts, as it did by 1500, it could do so. Europe, by contrast, consisted of competing kingdoms and proto-states in which no such blanket prohibition could be sustained.

Historians have also pointed to large-scale cultural differences, as well as geographical and political factors, in explaining why the Europeans, not the Chinese, came to dominance by the nineteenth century. Typical arguments are that Confucianism, with its ethic of harmonious living, contrasts with aggressive, monotheistic Christianity; that the Chinese sense of being at the center of the world contrasts with, for example, the Portuguese people's realization that they were not even at the center of Europe, let alone the world, and therefore were in competition with other Europeans; and that the social position of the merchant in China was inferior to that of the merchant in the West, so property rights were poorly protected. These cultural differences are neatly summed up in the contrasting ways the emperor of China and the king of Portugal styled themselves. The Chinese emperor was the "Son of Heaven," around whom the rest of the world revolved, whereas Manuel I, king of Portugal from 1495 to 1521, styled himself the "Lord of Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Asia, Persia, and India." Landes makes such an argu-

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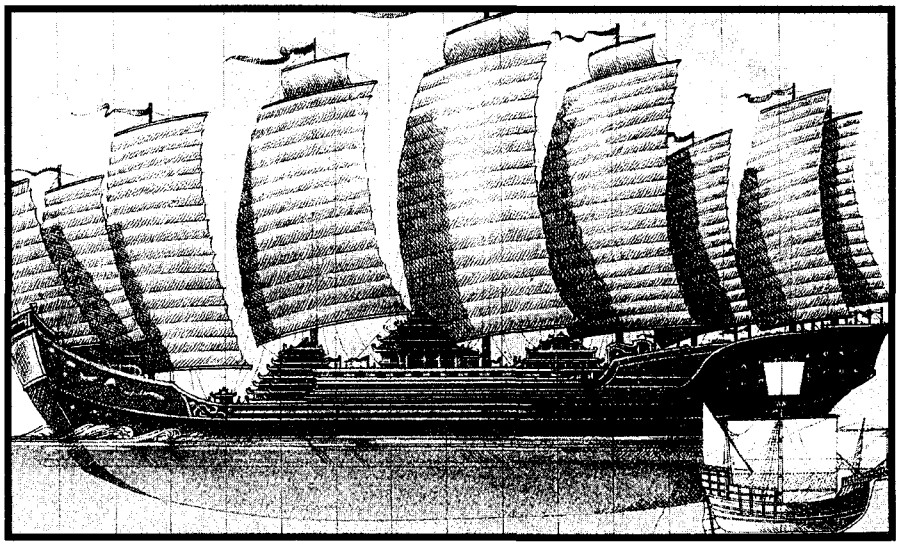
ment with typical fervor, repeating the refrain of a changeless China. After the Ming prohibited oceangoing voyages, he writes, "the Celestial Empire purred along for hundreds of years more, impervious and imperturbable."

Blaut offers a sharp critique of deterministic arguments for China's passivity. Among other things, he points out that if length of coastline and pluralist politics are criteria for development, then South and Southeast Asia, not the European states, should have been the innovators, since the Indian coastline is long in relation to its landmass and the islands of what is today Indonesia provided both an extended coastline and political diversity.

The most powerful reply to the argument that Chinese advances stopped with Zheng He comes from Frank. Basing his analysis on a wide reading of the latest scholarship, Frank convincingly argues a case that has been familiar to sinologists for some time but not to Europeanists. Rather than remaining static in the late Ming and early Qing, the Chinese economy showed considerable vigor, as did the Asian trading system of which it was a part. Frank bases his argument on the fact that the Chinese population grew substantially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which implies a concomitant economic growth. He also disputes the notion that the Chinese approach to exploration and discovery was any less rational than the European approach. If the Chinese did not launch vast fleets of ships, he concludes, it may have been for perfectly good reasons. As forests close to rivers were cut down and accessible lumber supplies dwindled, it became less and less economical to build large ships. Chinese merchants responded by building smaller ones and traveling shorter distances with them. Weather patterns made it profitable for them to travel to accessible entrepôts such as the Malaysian port of Melaka, where they could trade with their counterparts coming from the Indian Ocean. In this way, merchants could avoid lengthy, expensive round-trips to South Asia.

Frank does not have a lot to say about culture, but here too China exhibited a number of characteristics that seem similar to those of precapitalist Europe. Chinese culture was not unreceptive to the kind of entrepreneurial activity that together with technological developments would help bring about the industrial revolution in the West. During the Ming dynasty, authors wrote theoretical treatises about the market and about proper modes of behavior that call to mind the Calvinist virtues of diligence, stewardship, and accountability. In 1506, Qiu Jun defined a market and argued that marketing should be left to the merchants without state interference (except in the case of food supplies). In 1635, Li Jinde advised merchants to be diligent, make sure expenses do not exceed income, go to bed early and rise early, avoid ostentation, and keep careful accounts. Both of these treatises were couched in Confucian terms, but as the historian Timothy Brook has pointed out, the last one in particular indicated that "the core philosophy of the age was being molded to accept commerce in a way that previously had not been thought possible."



THE LARGEST SHIPS IN CHINA'S FIFTEENTH-CENTURY TREASURE FLEET WERE MORE THAN FOUR TIMES LARGER THAN COLUMBUS'S 'SANTA MARIA.'

As early as the fourteenth century, hemp-spinning machines powered by waterwheels came into widespread use in northern China, and a potentially automatic loom for the production of silk and ramie (a nettle plant whose fiber can be woven) was invented. And yet, despite a booming trade in cotton goods under the Ming, spinning and weaving technology was never transferred to the production of cotton. Capitalist modes of behavior never became widespread. Why not?

Of the many proposed explanations, an intriguing recent entry is Jack Goldstone's suggestion that the unavailability of female workers prevented the development of a cotton industry in China. Many scholars have suggested a link between Europeans' willingness to make use of their technological inventions and the choices they made in structuring their families, which allegedly showed a propensity for the kind of economically rational behavior suitable for capitalism. By marrying late and having fewer children, Europeans were said to have acted rationally by limiting the division of property into smallholdings; such foresighted activity supposedly did not exist in China, where early marriage and large families were the custom.

Goldstone points out that recent research into Chinese family patterns has challenged this view. Instead, he suggests that a closely related factor, differences in women's life paths, was decisive. In the West, women between puberty and marriage were typically wage earners. Considered individuals, they were available to work for a wage under the supervision of a nonfamily adult as a servant or, later, as a factory worker. The pay was meager, less than a man might earn doing the same thing, but while earning that wage they produced more than they could living at home. In contrast to European women, Chinese women were considered not individuals but members of a family. The Confucian life path of women did not take them out of the household until marriage; according to Goldstone, the system locked them into "upholding family continuity by restricting them to household life." Consequently, he argues, cheap female and child labor was not available to Chinese cotton entrepreneurs. Unlike their

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European counterparts, such entrepreneurs would have had to hire more expensive male labor, whose products would not have been competitive with the much cheaper household production of family-bound women. Therefore, they tended to make the economically rational choice not to build cotton mills.

IN DISCUSSING these and other issues, historians engage in conversations initiated more than a generation ago. Arguments for European uniqueness grow out of the practice of teaching Western Civilization courses at universities, which dates to at least the 1920s; the arguments of their opponents grow out of a Marxist style of criticism that became particularly salient in the 1960s. Both sides are concerned with questions related to origins and hegemony. Why did Europe break out as it did? Why didn't China (or India)? When did Europe become hegemonic in the world system of capitalism? Was China hegemonic for most of the last millennium? Questions of this sort were part and parcel of a way of thinking that identified East and West as somehow opposed. But practitioners of the new field of world history have begun to sidestep or ignore questions such as these in favor of what Kenneth Pomeranz calls "reciprocal comparisons." This approach—less polemical and less focused on origins—is on the verge of entering the mainstream of the American historical profession.

Of course, many critics of the European perspective are, or consider themselves, world historians. But I use the term here to refer to the growing group of scholars who put aside questions of hegemony and *ressentiment* and attempt to write truly comparative history. An ambitious, but not entirely successful, example is Victor Lieberman's effort to demonstrate that between 1450 and 1830 "localized societies in widely separated regions," such as Burma, Siam, Vietnam, France, Russia, and Japan, "coalesced into larger units—politically, culturally, commercially." That is, "sustained integrative patterns were not restricted to Europe" but were "variants of more general Eurasian patterns." The British anthropologist Jack Goody takes a much larger view, arguing that the main regions of Eurasian development appear similar because they are all variations on the same theme—the Bronze Age innovations connected with agriculture and metal industries. But the two most important works in this new genre are R. Bin Wong's *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Cornell) and Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton). The analyses in both books go well beyond Landes's and Frank's aggressive polemicizing to create sustained and substantial interpretations.

Rather than attempting to answer the questions "Why Europe?" and "Why not China?" Wong seeks to uncover where China and Europe are similar, where they differ, and what this implies for our understanding of these two worlds. He argues that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both the Chinese and the Europeans faced economic problems characteristic of societies based on agricultural production. They responded to harvest insecurities, material limitation, and demographic issues in ways that would be familiar to Adam Smith—by specialization and the division of labor, for example. The European and Chinese economies were not exactly the same, of course. In China, a large proportion of production was always rural, not urban, whereas in Europe some production that began in towns and cities migrated to the countryside in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in general, Wong extends and elaborates the argument made by others that the preindustrial economic development of China and Europe had important similarities. Both he and Pomeranz refer to these similarities as constituting a "Smithian world." In such a world, economic growth could occur, but primarily through what the English economic historian E.L. Jones has called "extensive" strategies—that is, through an increase in inputs, such as land (expansion of the arable) or labor (population growth). This is the kind of growth Frank is talking about when he notes how China's economy kept up with its population growth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But extensive growth, even when combined with improvements in technology and farming practices, does not necessarily imply a breakout to an industrial revolution. Wong does not believe one could look at China and Europe in, say, 1700 and predict what was going to happen.

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What did happen, in his view, was something entirely new—the discovery of how to extract energy systematically from mineral rather than organic material. The steam engine turned coal into energy at a stupendously greater rate than ever before, thus setting off "intensive" growth based on the increased efficiency made possible by technology. Frank, because he is so wedded to his structural explanations, mentions this momentous event only in passing. Landes, while agreeing that the steam engine was important, does not give the energy transformation it wrought a central place in his analysis. Wong, on the other hand, considers it fundamental. He is correct when he states that "the world of material possibilities was dramatically altered between 1780 and 1880. No previous century witnessed such changes." This does not, however, lead him to any speculations about the intrinsic cultural advantages of the West. Instead, through a discussion of the formation and function of states, he shows how the competing European states, with their semiautonomous social classes and independent church, provided a structure amenable to development and growth.

This does not mean that the European state system was superior to the Chinese. The Chinese state's concern for the welfare and moral education of the public, especially the poor, produced social policies that European states could not even imagine until very recently. Wong notes that since at least 1100, China had been ruled by a bureaucracy "according to rules and regulations created by a policy-making process that limited the arbitrary action of the ruler." And the Chinese state's ability to raise taxes, albeit using very different principles, would have been the envy of any European monarch who had been aware of it. That Europeans were not aware of it helps demonstrate Wong's point that Europe and China developed politically along separate courses until the nineteenth century. Unlike Frank, who sees everything linked in one way or another within the world system of exchange, Wong accepts the relative autonomy of the state from economic forces as well as the ability of those conducting public affairs to make creative decisions.

Pomeranz mounts an even more detailed and complete argument about European and Chinese political economies prior to 1800, demonstrating that they did not differ in ways that would obviously lead one to nineteenth-century domination and the other to decay. Whereas Wong concentrates on how Europe's distinctive political institutions permitted it to take full advantage of the unanticipated energy breakthrough, Pomeranz explains how the Atlantic trading system, as part of a larger world system, helped Europeans achieve substantial advantages. He contends that parts of both China and Europe were experiencing Smithian growth from at least the sixteenth century. But he adds that by the eighteenth century ecological constraints, such as shortages of wood and fiber and declining soil fertility, had begun to push both economies to their limits. Traditional trade practices, such as those followed earlier when Europeans traded silver for Asian porcelain, silk, copper, and gold, could not solve this problem. The solution was a new kind of trade network.

The most important innovation in this process was not new technology or the spread of rational markets, according to Pomeranz, but a combination of entrepreneurship and coercion—especially, though not exclusively, in the Atlantic. Whereas the Qing government (1644–1911) did not try to protect the sizable Chinese trading posts in East Asia, the Europeans, especially the British, did work to protect and expand their enclaves. Furthermore, the special characteristics of slave economies, in which slaves produced agricultural products for export but not for the sake of purchasing their own food or clothing, helped the British to escape an approaching Malthusian trap in which the available land could not support an expanding population. Essentially, the system traded land-based products, such as sugar and cotton grown in the Caribbean, for manufactured goods produced in England, such as cloth and, later, iron goods, that required very little land.

Pomeranz is not a doomsayer; he does not argue that Europe would have collapsed if this exchange had not happened. Like Wong, he does say that when the coal breakthrough occurred, the British in particular were in a position to take maximum advantage of it. The breakthrough itself, Wong and Pomeranz agree, was as much a product of geographic good luck—the proximity of English coal and iron-ore deposits to each other, as well as the chemical qualities of some of the coal—as of anything else. Pomeranz concludes: "Thus a combination of inventiveness, markets, coercion, and fortunate global conjectures produced a breakthrough in the Atlantic world, while the much earlier spread of what were likely better-functioning markets in east Asia had led instead to an ecological impasse."

Clearly, Pomeranz is a critic of those who emphasize European uniqueness. He does not deny that in some areas, such as that of scientific instruments, Europeans had gained an edge by the eighteenth century. But he makes a persuasive argument that the great breakthrough was not primarily the product of internal European developments, as Landes claims. Pomeranz is also skeptical of those like Frank who are so anxious to counter the tradition of stressing European uniqueness that they overcorrect on the other side. In discussing the role of silver as a commodity, for example, he recognizes the significance of the silver windfall for Europe, but he criticizes Frank's contention that the sole driving force of Europe's early-modern trade with China was the Chinese demand for silver. After all, European elites did desire luxury goods such as porcelain and silk, while others sought the copper and gold that China exported to Europe. "Surely the growth of European demand," Pomeranz comments, "needs to be *part* of the story."

WONG DOES NOT BELIEVE ONE COULD LOOK AT CHINA AND EUROPE IN, SAY, 1700 AND PREDICT WHERE THE MOST CHANGE WOULD OCCUR.

WONG AND POMERANZ agree that the coal revolution was the defining moment of the modern world. Before that, Wong believes, Europe and

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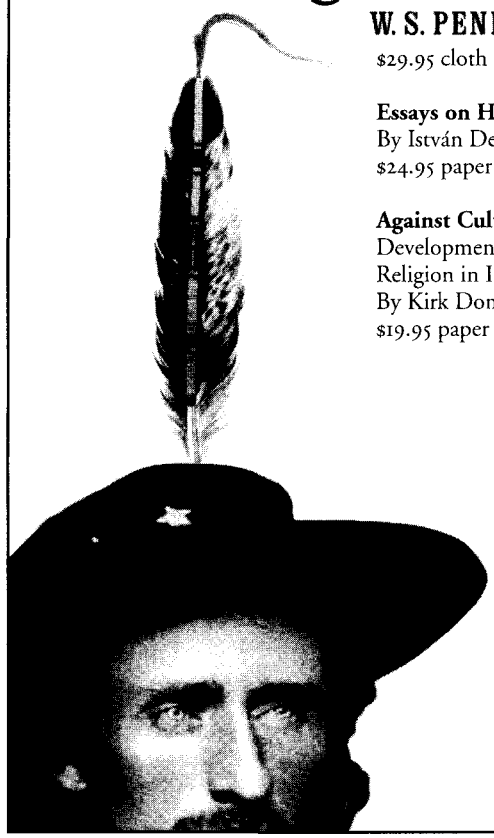

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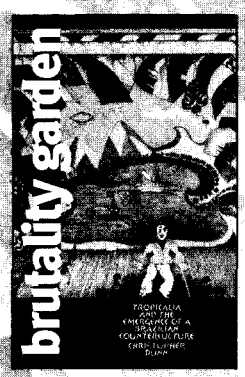

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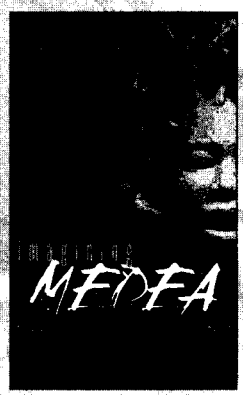

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China were growing in similar Smithian ways quite independently, although neither end of the Eurasian continent was necessarily heading toward an industrial breakthrough. Pomeranz, for his part, contends that the distinctive features of the Atlantic system helped the British to cope with Malthusian pressure.

What neither author explores, however, and what a historian like Frank fails even to approach, is the ultimate impact of the European domination that the coal breakthrough brought about. One-sided though approaches like Landes's may be, they have their merits. By attempting to define the uniqueness of the European experience, they implicitly suggest that Europe has left important legacies to today's world. It is difficult to see how widespread contemporary values such as equity (the basis of all human rights concerns) and popular sovereignty (the basis of at least the formal structure of a majority of states in today's world) can be said to have grown equally out of the traditions of Asia and the traditions of Europe. They are not the ideals of a preindustrial Smithian world, even if their roots might be found there.

Everyone admits that the Europeans exploded into the world over the past few hundred years. Wong and Pomeranz show how late the key moments in this process were and how unexpected the coal breakthrough really was. But they do not tell us what happened next: how that sudden European incursion into a Smithian world created an entirely new global situation, and what the most significant aspects of that situation are. This is the next step that world historians need to take. They have provided powerful arguments that are pushing the "European miracle" up to about 1800. It remains to be seen how they will assess the significance of the European domination they all agree eventually occurred.

Gale Stokes is Mary Gibbs Jones Professor of History and dean of humanities at Rice University.

A somewhat different, footnoted version of this article appeared as "The Fates of Human Societies: A Review of Recent Macrohistories" in *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 2 (April 2001): 508–525. Used with permission of The *American Historical Review*.

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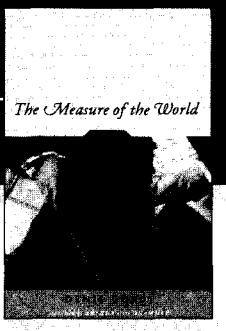

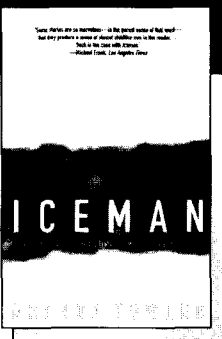

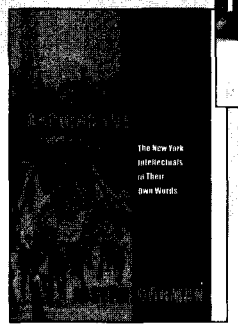

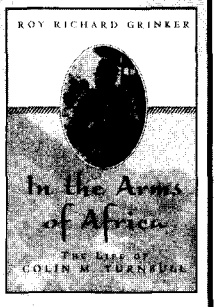

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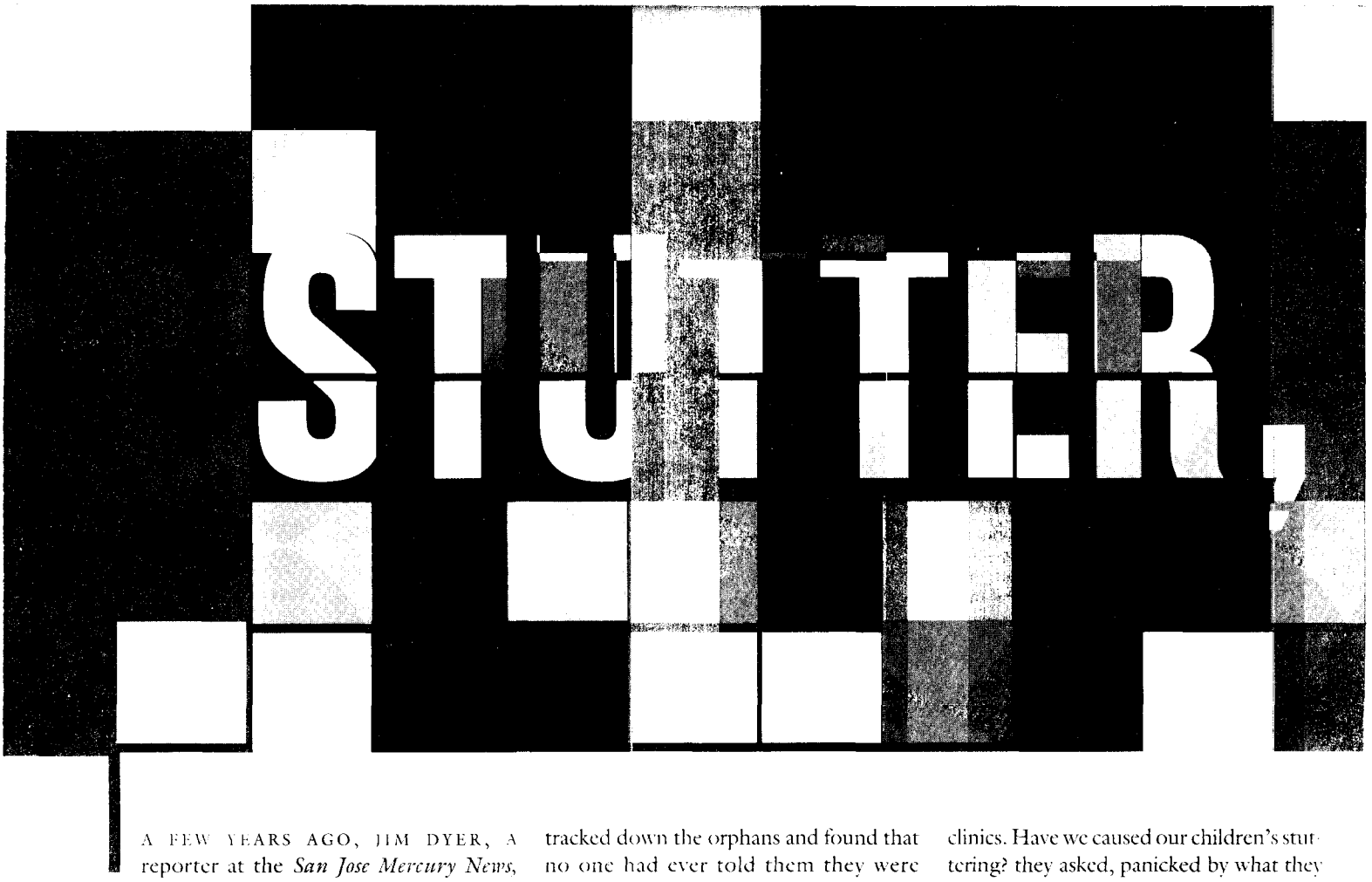

A FEW YEARS AGO, JIM DYER, A reporter at the *San Jose Mercury News*, began investigating a little-known speech-pathology experiment from the late 1930s with an ominous nickname: the "Monster Study." As Dyer would soon learn, speech pathology appeared to have some pathologies of its own.

The Monster Study was the brainchild of the University of Iowa's Wendell Johnson, who set out to test his belief that stutterers were the victims of aggressive labeling. By conspicuously referring to children as stutterers, he believed, parents and teachers exacerbate common but minor speech disfluencies into something far worse: chronic stuttering. The diagnosis, in other words, causes the condition. A stutterer himself, Johnson rather sinisterly supposed that the best way to win support for his theory was to turn experimental subjects into stutterers. And so he instructed a graduate student named Mary Tudor to browbeat a group of young nonstuttering orphans about their speech in the full expectation that her badgering would impair their linguistic abilities.

On June 10 and 11, 2001, the *Mercury News* published Dyer's heavily reported, tightly written two-article series, "Ethics and Orphans." It was a revelatory piece of work. With help from the Iowa State Historical Archive in Des Moines, Dyer tracked down the orphans and found that no one had ever told them they were scientific guinea pigs. One woman showed him the door: "I don't ever want to know," she protested. Others confessed to Dyer that they'd struggled with their speech for years after the experiment. Dyer also befriended Tudor, now a retired speech pathologist who is eighty-five years old and lives in the Bay Area. "Six decades later," Dyer wrote, "Mary Tudor is still haunted by having turned the children into stutterers and then having left them to cope on their own."

DYER'S STORY raised a ruckus, though not entirely for the reasons he had hoped. It soon came to light that when applying for access to the Iowa State Historical Archive, Dyer had misrepresented himself—needlessly, it seems—as a psychology student. After his editors raised questions about the ethics of what he had done, and publications like *Editor & Publisher* began to cover the story of his journalistic gaffe, Dyer left the newspaper.

While journalists pondered Dyer's conduct, academics debated the significant questions raised by the Monster Study itself. After "Ethics and Orphans" appeared, speech-pathology listservs and newsletters buzzed with activity. Experts on stuttering arrived at work to find frantic parents in their clinics. Have we caused our children's stuttering? they asked, panicked by what they had read in Dyer's article about the power of labeling. For most speech pathologists, "Ethics and Orphans" was an outrage: The problem was not that Dyer had exposed Johnson's dubious ethics but that he had accepted Johnson's scientific premises, thereby giving credence to a psychological theory about stuttering that had been widely discarded by specialists in the field.

Dyer's claim that Tudor had "turned the children into stutterers" drew special fire. In reality, claimed the University of Illinois researchers Ehud Yairi and Nicoline Ambrose in *The ASHA Leader,* such a transformation was not possible. Tudor's study, they wrote, "aimed to test whether normally fluent children can be made to emit stuttering. It was not to see if they could be turned into stutterers. This is a significant distinction."

But what Yairi and Ambrose failed to note is that this distinction, however significant, isn't the end of the story. Almost eighty years after Wendell Johnson enrolled at the University of Iowa in search of a cure for his own chronic stuttering, the disorder's definition remains contested—as does its cause. For some, like the Marquette University speech pathologist Franklin Silverman, Dyer's reporting offered crucial support for Johnson's unpopular

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MEMORY

SIXTY YEARS AGO, A SPEECH PATHOLOGIST ATTEMPTED TO TURN CHILDREN INTO STUTTERERS. WAS HIS SCIENCE AS DUBIOUS AS HIS ETHICS?

BY **MICHAEL ERARD**

ideas. Has the Monster Study, buried for so many years, finally come back to life?

THE MONSTER Study began in January 1939, when Johnson dispatched Mary Tudor to the Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home in Davenport to screen for suitable test subjects. Once she had met the orphans, Tudor selected twenty-two of them between the ages of five and sixteen. The "normally disfluent" merely repeated sounds and words, or elongated vowels, or paused in the middle of utterances, or made "thinking noises" like "uh" and "um." The more severely disfluent were full-fledged stutterers. Having assessed all the orphans' speech, she divided them into four groups. In two control groups, speakers were labeled appropriately as stutterers or fluent speakers; in two experimental groups, she intentionally labeled stutterers as normal speakers and normal speakers as stutterers.

As the study proceeded, the six normal speakers labeled as stutterers—ages five, nine, eleven, twelve, twelve, and fifteen—were told in no uncertain terms of their supposed disorder. "The staff has come to the conclusion that you have a great deal of trouble with your speech," Tudor informed each child individually. "The types of interruptions which you have are very undesirable. These interruptions indicate stuttering. You have many of the symptoms of a child who is beginning to stutter. You must try to stop yourself immediately. Use your will power. Make up your mind that you are going to speak without a single interruption. It's absolutely necessary that you do this. Do anything to keep from stuttering."

Over the spring semester, Tudor revisited the orphanage at least once a month, repeating her instructions to the group—and the matrons of the orphanage continued to do likewise in her absence. At the end of the summer, she submitted her thesis, "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Evaluative Labeling on Speech Fluency." In her conclusion, Tudor noted that the labeling of the nonstutterers had had a definite effect:

> All of the subjects...showed similar types of speech behavior.... A decrease in verbal output was characteristic of all six subjects; that is, they were reluctant to speak and spoke only when they were urged to. Second, their rate of speaking was decreased. They spoke more slowly and with greater exactness. They had a tendency to weigh each word before they said it. Third, the length of response was shortened.... Fourth, they all became more self-conscious. They appeared shy and embarrassed in many situations. Fifth, they accepted the fact that there was something definitely wrong with their speech. Sixth, every subject reacted to his speech interruptions in some manner. Some hung their heads, other [*sic*] gasped and covered their mouths with their hands; others laughed with embarrassment.

With its frank admission that the study had done harm to its subjects, the passage is disturbing. But does it imply that the study had created actual stutterers—or just apprehensive speakers? Tudor shied away from the stronger of the two conclusions.

Either way, Johnson's colleagues in the psychology department urged him to bury the results because the study violated ethical guidelines: The orphans had not been informed about the goal of the experiment. Tudor eventually came to share the unease of Johnson's colleagues. In letters she later wrote to Johnson, she expressed concern about the experiment's effect on some of the nonstutterers. Her letters also indicate that she returned to the orphanage to try to undo the damage. Meanwhile, Johnson went on to become a highly esteemed speech pathologist and, having learned to control his own stuttering, a dynamic public speaker. But he continued to hide the study: In the hundreds of articles and several books he wrote until his death in 1965, he never mentioned it.

With the data from the Monster Study unusable, Johnson sought other means to advance his beliefs about the pernicious effects of labeling. In his research, he aimed

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to show that before a stutterer is diagnosed as such, there is no qualitative difference between a stutterer and a normal speaker.

Johnson also looked for cultural evidence for his labeling theory. If the practice of stuttering depends on the existence of the concept of stuttering, he reasoned, people whose language has no word for stuttering will never experience the disorder. For example, the Ute, Bannock, and Shoshone Indians, he claimed, "uncritically accepted" the lack of perfect fluency in children. Consequently, he concluded, "the problem of stuttering does not occur."

Johnson's ideas eventually became known as the diagnosogenic theory. And from the 1940s through the 1960s, they were the most widely accepted explanation for stuttering. But in the 1970s, the diagnosogenic theory went into eclipse. New evidence suggested that stuttering had more to do with the faulty hardwiring of the brain than with the faulty behavior of parents and teachers. (In addition, the claims that certain Indian cultures have no word for stuttering and do not recognize the phenomenon were shown to be false.) Yet even today, the theory's influence can still be felt. The technical shorthand for a stutterer—PWS, or person who stutters—reflects not only a reluctance to identify people by reference to their disorders but also a Johnsonian sensitivity about the power of labels. Johnson's ideas also spawned widely used therapeutic techniques such as indirect therapy, in which fluent speech is modeled by the parents' example, not explicitly enforced on the child.

HOWEVER distasteful its methods, the Monster Study was in some respects nothing new: Stutterers have always been exposed to extremes. During the first century A.D., physicians believed that the bodies of stutterers were too humid; they prescribed purgatives, astringents, desiccating sauces, and wraps and would even encase a head in plaster to "dry it out." In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, corrective oral surgery cycled in and out of vogue, either to loosen or shorten the tongue or to widen the mouth. In 1841, before anesthesia was developed, a Prussian surgeon named Johann Friedrich Dieffenbach claimed to cure stuttering by cutting a triangular wedge from the tongue so that nerve impulses could reach the glottis. Other surgeons removed adenoids and trepanned the cranium.

In the early twentieth century, psychological theories became popular. Following Freud, some psychoanalytic writers treated stutterers as neurotic, while those of a behaviorist bent held that a stutterer adopted the condition either to avoid communicating or, paradoxically, to avoid other less significant disfluencies. Some, like the speech pathologist Joseph Sheehan, the originator of approach-avoidance theory, thought that stutterers were both attracted to and repelled by speaking. Well into the 1970s, stutterers were reprimanded, shocked, shouted at, and blasted with noises in attempts to cure them of stuttering.

When Johnson arrived at the University of Iowa in 1926, the most popular theory held that stuttering was the result of a clash of electrical signals in the brain. By the age of twenty, the chronically stuttering Johnson had experienced a bewildering array of intended cures. He had endured a kindly local doctor who prescribed peppermint pills; a professor who told him to breathe with his diaphragm ("this seemed pretty much like being advised to walk across the street by putting one foot ahead of the other," Johnson wrote); a chiropractor; an itinerant preacher "who admonished me to have faith and to use great determination"; a Missouri man with "electrical machines"; and one Benjamin Bogue from Michigan, who required students in his "stammering school" to swing dumbbells and chant sentences like "Have more backbone and less wishbone" and "Little drops of water will wear away a rock." After three months with Bogue, Johnson went home to Kansas "so thoroughly demoralized it didn't even occur to me to try to get my money back."

Lee Edward Travis, who eventually became Johnson's adviser at Iowa, once hypothesized that stutterers' brains had speech and language control scattered between the left and right hemispheres, not localized in the left as in the brains of normal speakers. To test this theory, he immobilized stutterers' right arms in casts and slings, hoping to force them into left-brain dominance. At Iowa, Johnson gained even more experience as a test subject, participating in twenty experiments, some of them quite bizarre. He got his first taste of Travis's methods on his third day as an undergraduate. As Johnson wrote in 1961, well after the fact, Travis "explained that he wanted the students to observe my speech. I sat in a chair beside his desk at the front of the room. There were thirty or forty students looking at me. Dr. Travis told them who I was and that I was from a small town in Kansas, and then he handed me a book and asked me to read aloud to the students. I read for five minutes—and got out four words." In 1928, Johnson became Travis's graduate student. "I hope some day to write about my experiences as a white rat," he wrote soon after.

HOWEVER DISTASTEFUL ITS METHODS, THE MONSTER STUDY WAS IN SOME RESPECTS NOTHING NEW: STUTTERERS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN EXPOSED TO EXTREMES.

In their autobiographies, stutterers often contemplate the remarkably intimate relationships they have with their voices. They are also frequently haunted by the attempt to identify the traumatic childhood moment when they first began to stutter: a stressful experience at home, a harsh comment from a teacher. But Johnson's 1930 memoir, *Because I Stutter,* presents no such moment. "I recall nothing whatever concerning my early experiences as a stutterer," he wrote.

In this memoir, Johnson's first contribution to speech pathology, one can nonetheless see the seeds of the diagnosogenic theory. One senses his long-standing preoccupation with tracing stuttering back to the diagnosis of stuttering. "Stuttering often begins, not in the child's mouth, but in the parents' ear," he liked to say. By 1961, he had remembered—or had fashioned—a memory of his own: A first-grade teacher

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talked to his parents about his speech, and his persistent but naive father responded by inflicting on young Wendell a series of quacks, professors, and faith healers.

ACCORDING TO SOME of his former students, Johnson intended the Monster Study to be more than simply a test of a theory about stuttering; it was, they explain, also an attempt to test the fundamentals of a broader theory of language called general semantics. Promulgated in the 1920s and 1930s by Count Alfred Korzybski, a Polish émigré, general semantics offered an extreme thesis about the power of language. For instance, some contemporary followers of Korzybski believe it would be beneficial to eliminate all forms of the verb "to be" from English. In no way, they argue, can grass "be" green; it merely "appears" green because certain wavelengths of light are being reflected and absorbed. General semanticists maintain that labels like "stutterer" also facilitate pernicious abstractions: They attribute static essences to a world characterized by flux.

Immediately entranced by these ideas, Johnson attended workshops and seminars at Korzybski's institute in Chicago and taught a general semantics course at Iowa until late in his life. He also served on the board of directors of the International Society for General Semantics and served once as the society's president. On his office wall, he hung an example of Korzybski's "structural differential," a model of how a general semanticist perceives the world, built out of looping string and dangling wooden blocks.

In the 1930s and 1940s, general semantics enjoyed a faddish prominence among scientists. It also inspired science fiction writers like A.E. van Vogt and the founder of Scientology, L. Ron Hubbard, whose system of Dianetics is based on general semantics. And it provoked the wrath of the science writer Martin Gardner, who labeled it a pseudoscience in his 1952 book, *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science*.

For Johnson, general semantics was a crucial discovery because it freed him from the conventional belief that stutterers were stutterers *intrinsically*. The theory justified his anger and frustration; according to general semantics, he had been poked and prodded into stuttering and made to feel abnormal. But deep down he was not a stutterer. The Monster Study would prove it.

DESPITE JOHNSON'S decision to keep the Monster Study under permanent wraps, the experiment circulated as disciplinary lore. In 1988, it surfaced in print when Marquette's Franklin Silverman, a former student of Johnson's, published a paper about it in the *Journal of Fluency Disorders*. A few years later, Jerry Halvorson, a retired speech pathologist at the University of Washington at River Falls, conducted an interview with Mary Tudor, and in 1999 he published a fictionalized account of the study with the rather melodramatic title *Abandoned: Now Stutter My Orphan*. Halvorson, who based the protagonist of his novel on Silverman, hoped the book would call further attention to the Monster Study.

Why the interest in casting light on such a dark story? Silverman, Halvorson, and the speech pathologist Mike Retzinger are part of a small group that still believes in the diagnosogenic theory. For them, the ethics of the experiment should not detract attention from what it proved. "The only thing that concerns me about the response to Dyer's story," Silverman notes, "is that the focus has been [on] the ethical aspects of the study, where I'd much rather have seen the emphasis be on diagnosogenic theory."

As Silverman concedes, Johnson popularized his diagnosogenic theory primarily by force of his reputation. And by the mid-1970s, Silverman notes, the indirect evidence that Johnson had collected after burying the Monster Study had begun to "fall apart." Dismayed by the influx of competing physiological theories about stuttering, Silverman decided to resurrect the study. In his 1988 paper, he concluded that "the findings of the Tudor study provide strong evidence that diagnosing normal disfluency as stuttering can cause stuttering."

But Silverman has not persuaded his colleagues. Yairi and Ambrose, prompted to review Tudor's data after reading Dyer's story, wrote in *The ASHA Leader*, "We have examined the data carefully and found that the study *completely failed* to demonstrate any support for its conclusions that stuttering could be elicited via labeling." In June of this year, Kevin Eldridge, a graduate student in speech pathology at the University of Pittsburgh, summarized Tudor's data for a fluency-disorder listserv. He pointed to some oddities. While Tudor's conclusion highlighted the six subjects' disturbing apprehension and reluctance to speak, their fluency had not been uniformly impaired. Indeed, he noted, the fluency ratings of four of the six experimental nonstutterers (all of whom had initially been rated normal speakers) had remained the same or *improved* during the course of the experiment. In only two cases—those of the five-year-old and the fifteen-year-old—did fluency ratings go down.

IN AN ESPECIALLY moving passage in his *Mercury News* article, Dyer described his interview with one of the orphans, seventy-four-year-old Mary Korlaske, who, he reported, had become a stutterer following the Monster Study. She told Dyer that she had learned to control her speech over the years but had begun "stuttering" again after her husband died. Dyer described Korlaske's speech after meeting her in a nursing home: "She has difficulty with words that begin with 's,'" he wrote, "and sometimes repeats words in her sentences." Eldridge observed, however,

FROM LEFT: WENDELL JOHNSON, MARY TUDOR, NICOLINE AMBROSE, EHUD YAIRI

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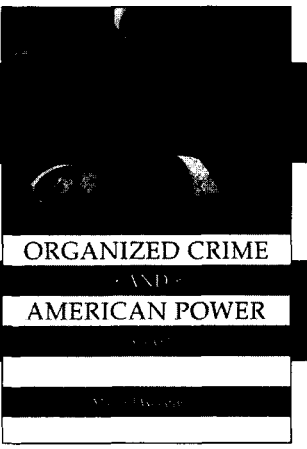

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that according to the judges who helped Tudor evaluate the orphans' speech, Korlaske had improved her fluency by the end of the Monster Study. Though it is possible that Korlaske's fluency improved during the experiment and then rapidly regressed later on, stuttering tends to disappear with age.

Perhaps what Dyer was observing in Korlaske's speech was not stuttering but a different speech problem. As the University of Maryland speech pathologist Nan Ratner argued in a fluency-disorders newsletter published by the American Speech-Language Hearing Association, the evidence suggested that Johnson and Tudor had created not stutterers but people with "communication apprehension." Though she believes that the Monster Study was a "horrific" undertaking with "real consequences to some of the unwitting child participants," she calls "misleading" the suggestion that Tudor created stutterers.

Scott Yaruss, a speech researcher at the University of Pittsburgh, concurs that the evidence against the diagnosogenic theory remains strong. If stuttering were strictly caused by labeling, hypercritical parents, or linguistically oppressive societies, Yaruss says, then one wouldn't expect stuttering to run in families to the extent it does. According to one report, 70 percent of stutterers have other stutterers in the extended family. Also, studies show that stuttering occurs more often among identical twins than fraternal ones. There's also a strong gender bias: Four times more men than women stutter. And to top it off, the distribution of stutterers in the U.S. population (about 1 percent) is similar to that in other societies.

Unswayed, Silverman insists that mainstream speech pathologists challenge the results of Tudor's study because "they've committed themselves to viewing the disorder as a physiological one as opposed to a psychological one." Silverman freely admits that Tudor's thesis did not draw the conclusion that she had created stutterers. But he cites Tudor's distressed letters to Johnson, and the subsequent interviews with Tudor conducted by Halvorson and Dyer, as evidence that she had been reluctant to describe what she had really done. Furthermore, Silverman emphasizes, Dyer reported firsthand testimony to the effect that the subjects had stuttered into adulthood—"which to me," Silverman says, "is the smoking gun."

Not everyone, however, is willing to accept Dyer's anecdotal evidence as hard proof. Silverman's willingness to do so, Ratner says, is "a kind of pseudoscience we don't profit from."

One wishes that Dyer would clarify what he saw and heard, in light of the concerns of skeptical academics. Ever since his departure from the *Mercury News,* he has kept out of sight. (Attempts by *Lingua Franca* to reach him were unsuccessful.) One can only imagine what he must think of his article's bizarre aftermath. He published a blistering exposé of Johnson's ethical lapses only to find himself scorned by Johnson's critics and embraced by Johnson's admirers. In the end, his work has provided a glimmer of hope for those who believe that Johnson's science was all right even if his treatment of orphans was all wrong.

Michael Erard has written for *The Atlantic Monthly, The Texas Observer,* and other publications.

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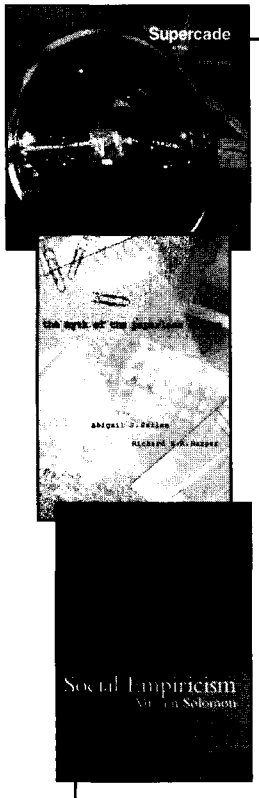

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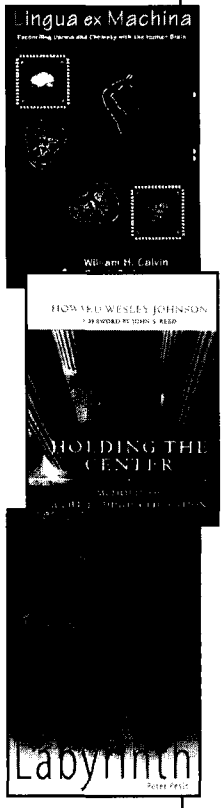

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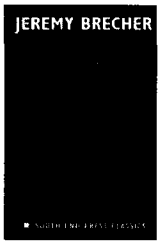

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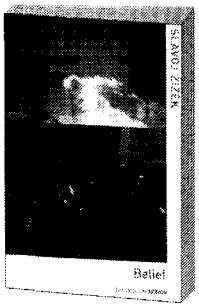

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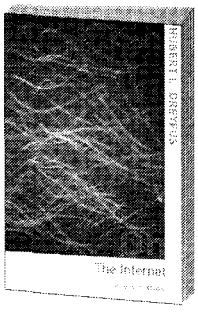

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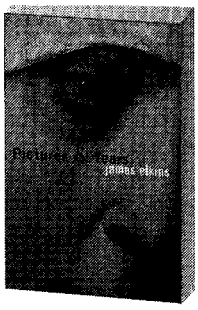

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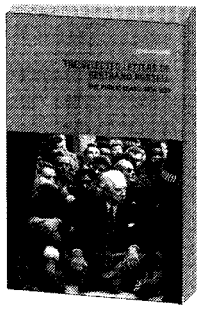

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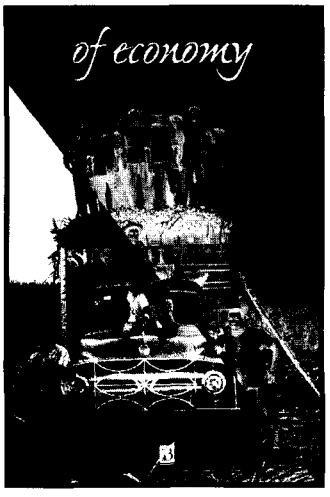

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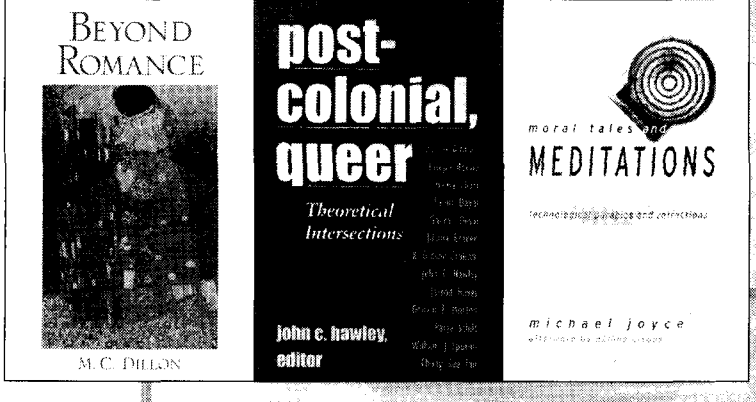

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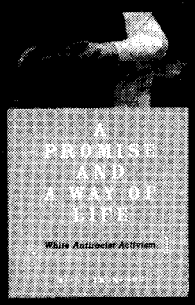

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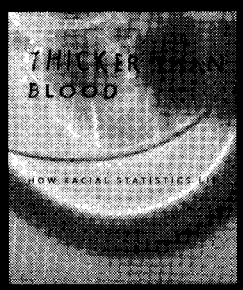

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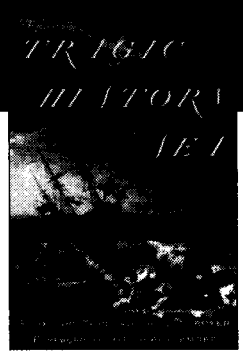

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FROM LEFT: ALBANIAN STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THEIR UNDERGROUND UNIVERSITY IN TETOVO; THE TETOVO VALLEY; MACEDONIAN STUDENTS PROTEST ALBANIAN-LANGUAGE TEACHER TRAINING IN SKOPJE

AFP PHOTO (3): GEORGI LICOVSKI, ERIC FEFFERBERG, GEORGI LICOVSKI

TERMS OF

What Macedonian and Albanian intellectuals talk about when they talk about war.

BY **LAURA SECOR**

FOUR MONTHS INTO THE MACEDONIAN government's low-intensity war against ethnic Albanian guerrillas, Victor Friedman, a scholar of Balkan linguistics, happened to be in the capital city of Skopje. Tracking the media that served the country's two largest ethnic communities, he noted sharp divisions: Macedonian-language papers, serving the 66 percent ethnic majority, reported military maneuvers and threats to the country's territorial integrity, while Albanian-language papers, serving the country's largest minority, at around 23 percent of the population, reported civilian suffering and police brutality. "These presses almost always reported different stories. They had completely different perspectives," Friedman recalls. So, too, did much of their readerships. Albanian guerrillas in the hills called for expanded linguistic and educational rights; the Macedonian government greeted such demands, made at gunpoint, with skepticism, accusing the rebels of fighting instead for territorial separation. On May 30 of this year, however, journalists in both camps found something to agree on: Macedonia's preeminent intellectual organization, the Academy of Sciences and Arts, had proposed something outrageous and unacceptable.

As custodians of culture in embattled lands, academicians in the Balkans have famously marshaled their resources to controversial ends, promoting visions of ancestral glory, eternal victimization, and thwarted territorial aims. For a decade, the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (MANU) distinguished itself by studiously avoiding such inflammatory rhetoric, calling instead for greater Balkan integration and cooperation. True, MANU is not itself an integrated institution; it does not include a single Albanian member. But when the conflict began on Macedonian soil in March 2001, MANU declared, "We must seek a way out of this situation not in some retrograde historical projects involving the re-drawing of new frontiers...but rather in the building up of Macedonia as a modern, civil, European state."

And yet, by late May, the situation in Macedonia appeared to be unraveling. War continued to smolder; the former Yugoslavia offered no precedent for

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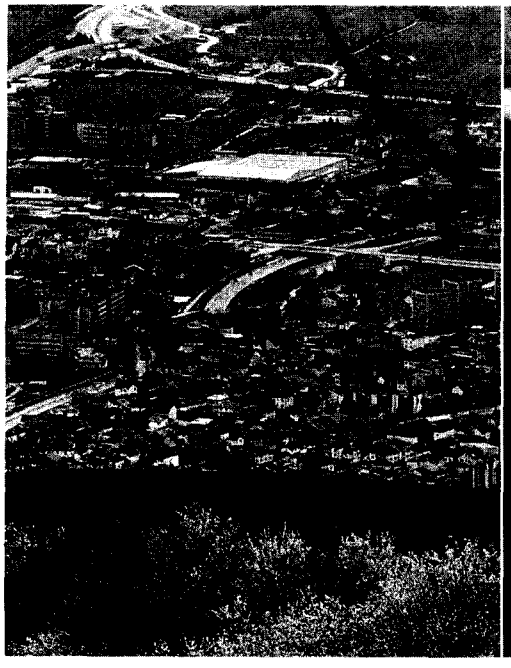

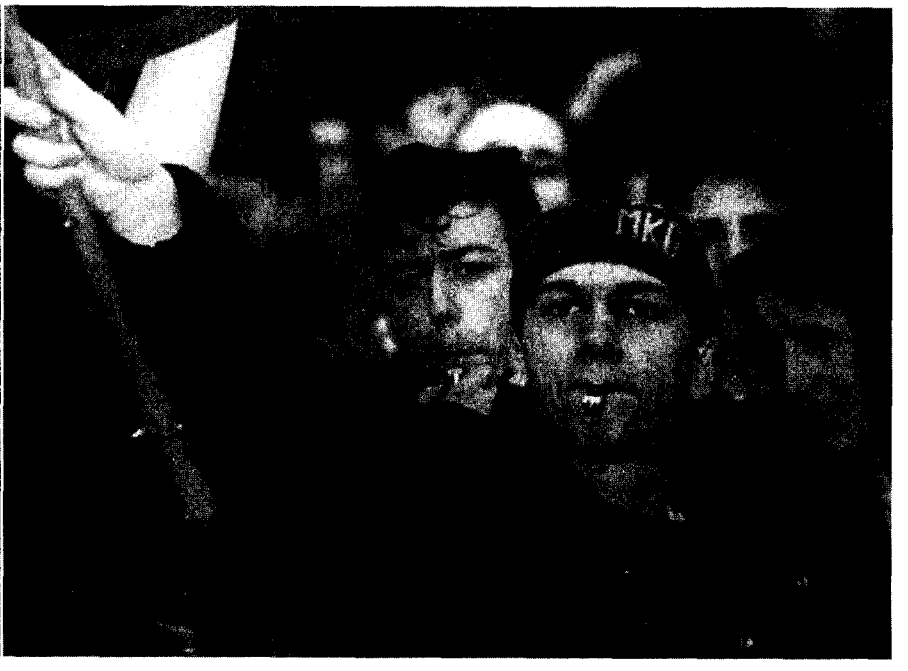

ENGAGEMENT

peaceful resolution of armed ethnic conflict; and the international community pressed the Macedonian government to accept Albanian linguistic demands. Such measures were decidedly unpopular with MANU, which declared a year ago that "the formation of a university institution in the Albanian language would lead to disintegration in the state." Now the state appeared to be disintegrating anyway: Rebels had come within five miles of Skopje, taking the city's airport into their sights. As Macedonia veered toward full-scale civil war, MANU's president, the geneticist Georgi Efremov, leaked a puzzling document to the press. It proposed neither a future Balkan commonwealth nor a sweeping Macedonian empire. Rather, it suggested a swap of territory and populations among Macedonia, Albania, and Kosovo, based on the dubious example of Croatia, which "cleansed" itself of Serbs in 1995.

Due to armed conflict in the country's west and north, Efremov and his colleagues told the Macedonian daily *Vecer*, "cohabitation between Macedonians and Albanians has become entirely impossible.... [T]he two ethnicities belong to diametrically opposite civilizations which differ according to their religious beliefs, language, and traditions." Under the circumstances, the only solution was for the two communities to "peacefully say goodbye to each other." Macedonia should cede some of its western territory to Albania or Kosovo, and Albania should cede some towns in its north to Macedonia. Minority populations would then have three months to exchange their homes and property so that both Macedonia and Albania would be ethnically clean. As Efremov explained at a press conference on May 30, "We live in the twenty-first century. We are fed up with wars and killings."

Efremov's plan met with immediate and passionate disapproval from both sides, recalls Friedman: "After all, the regions are mixed, and people in the mixed regions have been living together peacefully and in harmony for centuries." The idea had not even been discussed, let alone approved, by much of MANU's membership, says Friedman, a Mellon Professor of the Humanities at the University of Chicago who is one of MANU's two members from the United States. Within two weeks, Efremov was forced to resign MANU's presidency in disgrace.

MANU's tightrope walking—its alternate calls for Balkan integration and ethnic separation, its haste to distance itself from Efremov's plan—reflects the confused and delicate state of Macedonia's struggle, as the country's two largest ethnic blocs wrangle over issues of education and language that would seem more appropriate for a heated parliamentary debate than for a guerrilla war. At least, these are the explicit issues at stake. Many local observers believe they are mere smoke screens for another sort of power struggle involving territory and smuggling interests. If that cynicism is justified, it is also, paradoxically, a testament to the genuine significance of the language issue: How else could such allegedly self-interested elites create such an impressive gulf between ethnic blocs using only language as a wedge?

The answer may be that language is never "only" language, least of all in a

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region crosscut by imperial claims and postcolonial splintering. Many ethnic Albanians see access to educational, political, and cultural institutions in their native tongue as a basic civil right. But to the Macedonian government, as to the Yugoslav and Serbian governments before it, the strength and separateness of Albanian national identity, combined with the dispersal of ethnic Albanians across three countries, appear to pose a special threat of secession. The threat is accentuated by Macedonian insecurity. After all, the very existence of a Macedonian language—related to, but separate from, Bulgarian and Serbian—has long been denied by expansionists in Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia, who also deny the existence of a Macedonian ethnicity.

Today, Macedonian is for the first time the official language of a sovereign state, and its defenders jealously guard its primacy. Indeed, Albanian linguistic demands, to say nothing of alleged territorial ones, cut to the very quick of Macedonian fears. Suppose a Greater Albania were to emerge from the ashes of Yugoslavia? Would a truncated Macedonia stand a chance of retaining its independence? Probably. But many Macedonians are anxious nonetheless. One bitter graffito on the outer wall of the Macedonian National Theater greeted the outbreak of war with the following words: "Learn Bulgarian, brother. You're going to need it."

A GRAFFITO ON THE OUTER WALL OF THE MACEDONIAN NATIONAL THEATER GREETED THE OUTBREAK OF WAR WITH THE FOLLOWING WORDS: "LEARN BULGARIAN, BROTHER. YOU'RE GOING TO NEED IT."

THE BELGRADE-SKOPJE bus trip has changed in the last year. During the Milosevic era, I made the seven-hour journey in a broken seat on a sweltering coach whose windshield was shaded with Bosnian Serb propaganda posters. The driver, concerned about my safety, would not let me out of his sight. This year, despite the war, two bus companies are in fierce competition over the route. The company I take is winning, not only because it features a smiling stewardess who hands out sandwiches and plastic cups of Turkish coffee, but also because its rival has been caught smuggling drugs, guns, and women into Macedonia one time too many. The Serb police now stop each of that company's vehicles at the border, shoo the passengers out, and proceed to take the bus apart screw by screw.

Probably the strangest thing is that the Serb police, known in Belgrade as the drug vendors of choice, should care about smuggling. But ever since a democratic government took over Serbia, settling a long-running dispute over the Serbian-Macedonian border and beginning to bring Serbia into compliance with international law, the smuggling trade in Macedonia has been drastically affected. Some observers, including Vladimir Milcin, a theater professor at Skopje's Saints Cyril and Methodius University and the head of Macedonia's Open Society Institute, intimate that Macedonia's war may have started here, in the no-man's-land between two hard-up countries living on the edge of international norms.

This June evening, the northern Macedonian countryside is cleaved by the highway we travel. Out the window to the left is pitch darkness, where I am told that the Macedonian government has cut electricity to Albanian villages. To the right, a few scattered lights; but these Macedonian towns have had their water supply severed by the Albanian rebels known as the National Liberation Army, or NLA.

The news, as we enter Skopje, is ominous. NATO forces have escorted NLA fighters out of Aracinovo, a suburb five miles from Skopje, returning the town to Macedonian control, but have relocated the rebels and their weapons to another NLA-held town. I step off the bus into a riot. Reserve police and soldiers are furious with their government for allowing NATO to act, as Milcin puts it, "as a tourist agency." Armed men mass around the parliament, firing automatic weapons into the air and into shopwindows. If they storm across the Vardar River to Skopje's Albanian quarter, there will be civil war tonight. That simple: It feels as though the city were doused in gasoline. All that's required is someone stupid or destructive enough to light a match.

Morning finds Skopje depleted and fearful. My first appointment is with Jabir Derala, a human rights activist, leader of a nongovernmental organization, and poet. Derala is Albanian-identified, even though his first language is Macedonian and his background is Albanian, Turkish, Croatian, Italian, and Iraqi. Born in Tetovo, he grew up in a Macedonian-dominated town outside Skopje. His father, a teacher of arts and music, was killed in Bosnia in 1992 by one of his Croatian students. "I hope I am not going to get his destiny," Derala says, visibly shaken by the previous night's riots.

When I ask Derala how deep the ethnic tensions in Macedonia ran prior to the emergence of the NLA, he replies, "Before, people were tense; they were living parallel lives. But now they hate each other. They fear each other, and then they hate each other." His words come back to me later at one of Skopje's Internet cafés. Macedonian boys are playing a shoot-'em-up video game with bloodcurdlingly realistic graphics. They name their teams after Serbian paramilitaries and yell out to one another how many "Albanian terrorists" each has killed.

The only republic to secede from Yugoslavia without a war, Macedonia was for a decade considered an oasis of peace and a triumph of preventive diplomacy. Today, many observers blame the country's troubles on the West—for failing to stanch the tide of weapons and men coming over the Kosovo border, for failing to disarm the Kosovo Liberation Army, for enforcing sanctions on Yugoslavia that redounded to the detriment of neighboring countries, for acquiescing to Greek pressures on the fragile Macedonian state. Fatefully, the people of Macedonia elected nationalist political parties from both ethnic blocs to power in 1998. The Macedonian VMRO, led by Prime Minister Ljubco Georgievski, and the Albanian DPA, led by Arben Xhaferi, work in coalition, forming, on the face of it, the region's

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best example of a functioning multiethnic democracy. But the two parties are at cross-purposes. They have made promises to their ethnic constituencies that they can't possibly keep while working together. The NLA fighters, says the Albanian editor and journalist Iso Rusi, emerged in response to the ineffectiveness of the Albanian representatives in government. And yet nothing has pushed Macedonia further down the path of no return than the sudden appearance of armed insurgents.

Under the circumstances, Macedonia's intellectual community is starkly riven. Milcin tells me a story about staging a performance at an Albanian-language theater. The general manager objected to two members of Milcin's cast. "I said, 'What's the problem with them?' They were actors from that theater, Albanians. He said, 'They are Albanians, but they are not Albanian enough. They are cosmopolites.'" Several months later, Milcin was to stage his adaptation of Dostoyevsky's novel *Devils* at a Macedonian-language theater. The general manager of that theater asked to see Milcin's cast list. "One of the main parts was to be played by one of those two Albanians—those 'not-enough' Albanians," Milcin recalls. "After looking at the list, the manager said, 'No way, we know your strategy, your ideas about multiethnicity. We are not going to agree to this.' I said, 'Okay, then I am not going to work. It's a question of integrity; I am not going to compromise this.'" Within days, the manager apologized and backed down. "He was obviously afraid of a scandal in the media," Milcin explains.

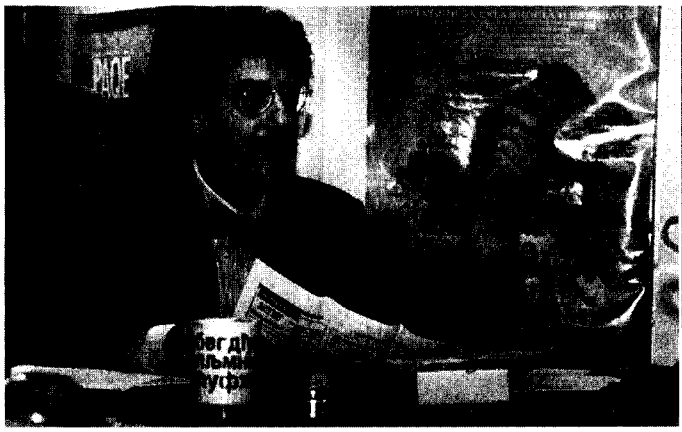
To Milcin, the moral of this story is that the Macedonian community is slightly less closed than the Albanian one. But almost everyone I speak to, whether Albanian or Macedonian, complains that such conformist pressures afflict the other community more than their own. Near the end of my stay in Skopje, I meet with a Macedonian literary theorist who has just returned from an annual summer academy in the lakeside resort town of Ohrid. No Albanian academics attended the summer school, and she tells me she knows for a fact that they were threatened by the NLA, which warned them against cooperating with Macedonians. No one will tell you this, she warns, but Albanians are really afraid to break ranks right now. Later the same night, I run her story by a group of Albanians. They laugh. Albanian intellectuals were not invited, they retort.

One Albanian academic, Teuta Arifi, who teaches Albanian literature at Skopje's main university, says she got an invitation but declined. "They asked me to prepare some lecture about Islam and human rights," she recalls. "I didn't see why one Albanian has to prepare the lecture on Islam and human rights. I asked if they had a lecture on Christianity and human rights. They told me they did not. I told them that if they have this religious approach, they should have two approaches. And the answer I got was that, as a Western concept, Christianity is related automatically to human rights. I told them I have a problem with that, because, as far as I know, the Inquisition was not a very good example of human rights."

If the Ohrid summer school has become controversial, the very mention of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts makes many local intellectuals cringe with fear or embarrassment. A Macedonian legal scholar says sheepishly, "I don't know how it happens in the Balkans that all the academies are full of hard-liners." Asked if the discarded maps portend ethnic cleansing in Macedonia, Derala replies, "Everything is going in that direction. Who will prevent this, and how?"

IN HIS BOOK *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics,* the Yale historian Ivo Banac calls his chapter on Macedonia "The Macédoine." By that he means the mixed salad, so christened by a Frenchman for Macedonia's ethnic and linguistic diversity. Home to Macedonians, Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Vlachs, Roma, and other ethnic groups, the country is now plagued by runaway metaphors, including the following title of a historical summary issued by a nonprofit group: "Macedonia: An Explosive Fruit Salad."

Historically, Macedonia subsumed not only today's Macedonia but also contiguous territory that now lies in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. The identity of the ancient Macedonian people has been debated by historians since the time of Herodotus. Were they Greeks, or a separate people? Alexander the Great, son of Philip II of Macedon, famously united the Greek city-states and extended the Greek empire through Afghanistan to the east and as far as Egypt to the south around 330 B.C. Many Greek nationalists today consider the very designation "Macedonia"—not to mention all symbols associated with Alexander the Great—to be an inalienable part of the Greek heritage. On that basis, Greece refused to recognize the Macedonian state upon its independence in 1991, going so far as to impose a crippling blockade, and successfully obstructing international recognition of Macedonia's chosen name and flag. Although there is little consensus, a number of historians



VICTOR FRIEDMAN, LEFT, IS A SCHOLAR OF BOTH MACEDONIAN AND ALBANIAN. HE IS A MEMBER OF THE MACEDONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS, ABOVE.

LEFT: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; RIGHT: COURTESY MACEDONIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS

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today argue that the ancient Macedonians were a non-Hellenic people with no evident relation to contemporary Greeks or contemporary Macedonians.

Today's Macedonians are by and large the descendants of Slavic tribes that migrated to the Balkans in the sixth century A.D. From the same wave of migration came all the Slavs of the former Yugoslavia as well as the Bulgarians, who are believed to be the descendants of both Slavs and the Turkic people known as proto-Bulgarians. The resulting patchwork of Slavic nations across the lower Balkan Peninsula formed what scholars call a linguistic continuum, in which dialects gradually shade into one another. Dialects spoken in the east of Bulgaria, for example, differ substantially from those spoken on the western coast of Dalmatia, but at no point in between, from

TEUTA ARIFI

east to west and from north to south, do two neighboring Slavic villages speak mutually unintelligible tongues. Similar continua can be found elsewhere in the world—from Germany through Holland, for example. And their significance for scholars of national movements is profound. How does one determine what constitutes a language as opposed to a dialect? Loring Danforth, author of *The Macedonian Conflict,* likes to quote the anthropologist Manning Nash, who once defined a language as "a dialect with an army and a navy."

The armies and navies of the medieval Balkans overran Macedonia at regular intervals. Bulgaria's king Simeon conquered Macedonia in the tenth century; later, King Dusan made Skopje the seat of his short-lived Serbian empire. But the Ottoman Empire would prove the region's decisive conqueror. Indeed, the Porte would not hold any territory longer than it held Macedonia—not even the bulk of modern Turkey. Under the Ottoman millet system, the empire distinguished its Christian subjects from its Muslim subjects, but it did not accord ethnic nations any official status. Balkan nationalist movements began to undermine Ottoman rule in the nineteenth century, however. During this period, the Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs all hoped to include Macedonia in their emerging states, and they buttressed their claims by insisting that the Macedonians were in fact Greeks, Bulgarians, or Serbs, respectively. The three nations vied for Macedonian loyalties partly by operating rival religious schools throughout the territory and partly by supporting groups that plotted uprisings against the Ottomans. The most significant of these groups were Bulgarian-oriented; one of them, VMRO, is the namesake of Macedonia's current ruling party.

In the end, Macedonia was liberated only through a series of bloody regional wars. The treaty that ended the Second Balkan War in 1913 permanently partitioned geographic Macedonia, awarding 50 percent to Greece, 40 percent to Serbia, and only 10 percent to Bulgaria. Determined to recover its losses, Bulgaria joined the losing side of both world wars. History crushed Bulgarian ambitions. To this day, however, Bulgaria does not recognize any Macedonian minority within its borders; and though it recognizes the Macedonian state, it explicitly refuses to recognize the Macedonian nation, let alone the Macedonian language, which it considers a Bulgarian dialect. Greece, too, denies the existence of a Macedonian language or ethnicity. Its Macedonian minority endured mandatory Hellenization until the mid-1970s; even today, many Greek Macedonians are afraid to speak their native language in public.

The first Yugoslav state, which lasted from 1918 through 1941, adopted tactics no different from those of its neighbors, attempting to incorporate its portion of Macedonia into Serbia by force (the territory was christened "Southern Serbia," and its citizens considered Serbs). But the second Yugoslavia, reunited under Tito in 1945, understood that any hint of Serbian oppression could divert Macedonian loyalties to Bulgaria, which was now a hostile state in the Stalinist orbit. (Tito had broken with Stalin in 1948, but Bulgaria remained loyal to Moscow.) And so the Yugoslav portion of Macedonia was offered recognition and autonomy. Along with Serbo-Croat, the official language within the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia was Macedonian, which was based on the Macedonian literary language that had sprung from the west-central dialects in the nineteenth century. And while Tito's state censors carefully rooted out Bulgarian sympathies from Macedonia's official history, they permitted Macedonians to express anti-Serbian sentiments forbidden in other Yugoslav republics.

From Tito's success was born a common perception, encouraged by Bulgarian and Greek nationalists, that Tito invented the Macedonian language and ethnicity as a bulwark against superior Bulgarian claims. Indeed, Macedo-Bulgarian linguistic and cultural affinities are real. As Banac writes, "There was never any serious doubt that the Slavic population of Macedonia belonged to the same linguistic, historical, and cultural zone as the Bulgarians." But does this make Macedonians a subgroup of Bulgarians? Two frequently cited histories of Macedonia, Hugh Poulton's *Who Are the Macedonians?* and Stephen E. Palmer Jr. and Robert R. King's *Yugoslav Communism and the Macedonian Question,* indicate that before World War II, Bulgarian consciousness prevailed among the Slavs of Macedonia. According to Palmer and King, that Bulgarian affiliation was systematically suppressed under Tito.

Friedman considers such accounts to be dangerous nonsense. They "unwittingly reproduce Bulgarian propaganda," he fumes by e-mail, privileging Bulgarian national consciousness as somehow more natural than Macedonian consciousness. The latter emerged no later than the nineteenth century, says Friedman, and the Macedo-Bulgarian language group is no

IN 1995, KOSOVARS HELPED FOUND AN UNDERGROUND UNIVERSITY IN TETOVO. BY THE TIME OF MY VISIT, MANY OF ITS STUDENTS ARE BELIEVED TO BE TOTING KALASHNIKOVS IN THE HILLS ABOVE.

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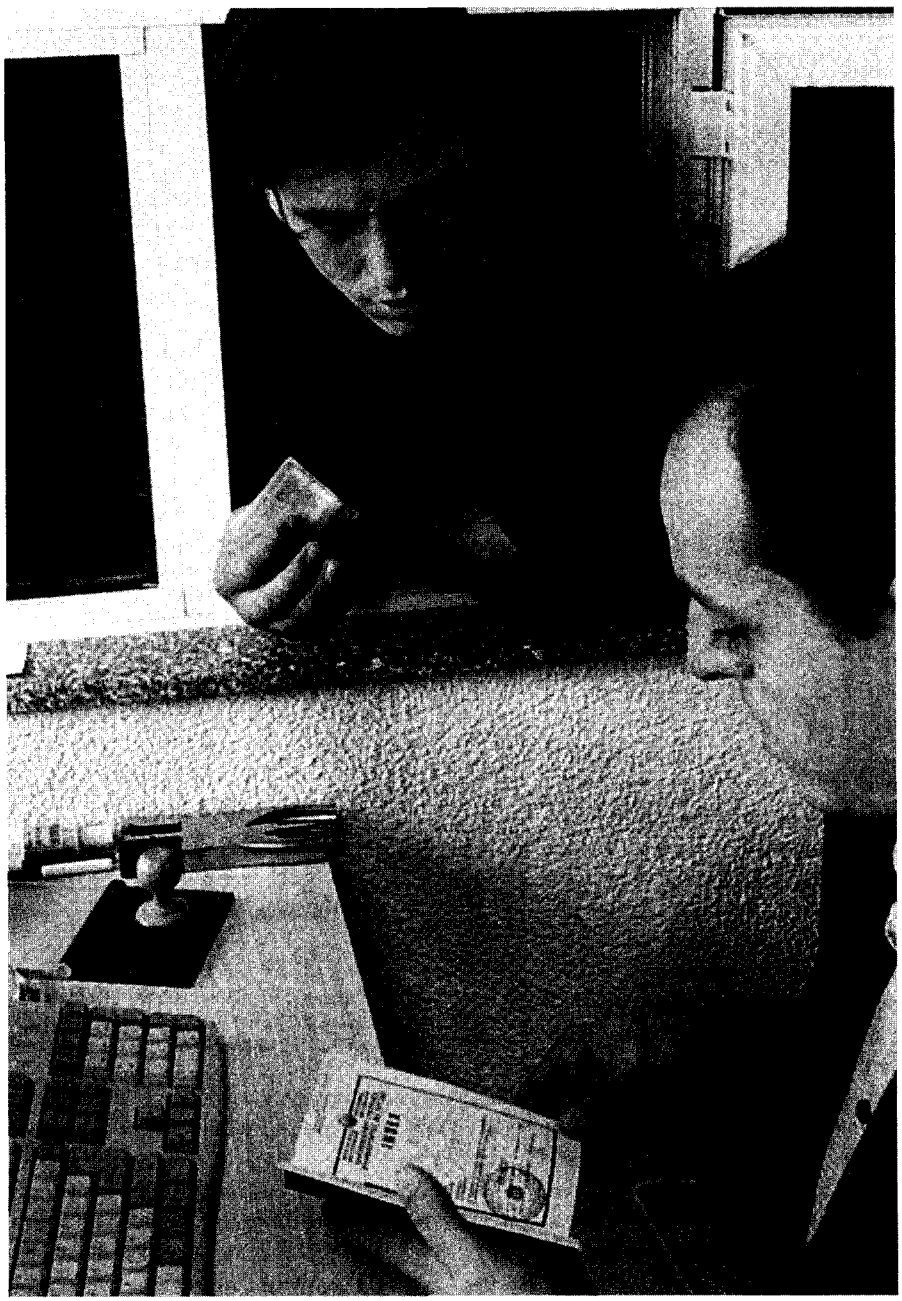
more or less differentiated than the Swedish-Norwegian continuum. Friedman cites texts published in Macedonian dialects as early as 1794 and notes a published statement of Macedonian national identity from 1875. The most prominent early Macedonian nationalist, Krste Misirkov, wrote *On Macedonian Matters* in 1903, but Bulgarians immediately suppressed it. In fact, writes Friedman, "If Bulgaria had not briefly cooperated with Tito 1946–48, we might never have seen Misirkov's texts."

The contest over Macedonia has not only politicized its historiography, says Friedman; it has also resulted in the destruction of evidence. Slavic manuscripts reportedly have been dumped in Lake Prespa by Albanian authorities. Andrew Rossos of the University of Toronto has alleged Bulgarian suppression of archival materials, while Greek police have reportedly confiscated tapes from linguists recording Macedonian dialects in northern Greece. According to Friedman, the doubt and ambiguity that continue to linger around Macedonia's name, language, and ethnicity are a shadow cast by these neighboring states. Albanian extremists, he contends, take advantage of the confusion for their own purposes.

And yet, Friedman has written, Albanians and Macedonians share similar historical frustrations. By the end of World War II, Albanian-populated lands had been divided between Albania and Yugoslavia, leaving nearly 40 percent of ethnic Albanians outside the Albanian state. The most widely spoken non-Slavic language in the former Yugoslavia, Albanian is Indo-European but related to no other modern language. Surrounding nations dismissed Albanian as a mishmash of Balkan dialects. And so, writes Friedman in one essay, "both groups were linguistically marginalized. In the case of Macedonians, they were told that they spoke either Serbian or Bulgarian, while in the case of Albanians, they were told that their language was not really a language at all."

For Albanians in the old Yugoslavia, the main linguistic problem was education, which had become a political dilemma: They could be educated in Serbo-Croatian, a language many Albanians spoke, but it was not their native tongue, and few Albanian literary works had been translated into it. Alternatively, they could lobby for Albanian-language education in a country where Albanian was spoken only in the poorest regions of the south. The first option yielded individual social mobility at the cost of assimilation. The second held out the possibility of improving the collective status of Albanians by institutionalizing their language and culture in an already polyglot land. Albanians lobbied hard for the latter, winning linguistic and educational rights in Kosovo in 1969—only to have them revoked by Slobodan Milosevic in 1989. That battle would have serious repercussions in Macedonia.



AN ALBANIAN STUDENT PAYS $140 TO REGISTER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TETOVO, WHICH IS NOT RECOGNIZED BY THE MACEDONIAN GOVERNMENT.

SKOPJE is a graceful city of stone streets and minarets; but the campus of Saints Cyril and Methodius University, located on a ribbon of highway and fashioned of stark gray concrete, is nothing short of forbidding. Across the street, in the basement of a shopping center, lies the café favored by Skopje's Albanian intellectuals. Teuta Arifi, from the university's

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Albanian language and literature department, meets with me there one rainy afternoon. American pop music blares into a largely empty room: It's been exactly a week since the riots, which spurred many Albanians to flee preemptively to Kosovo. "You don't have the faith you had before," Arifi confesses. "And you don't feel good when more than 50 percent of your neighbors aren't here anymore."

With a faculty of only fifteen members, including assistants, Arifi's department, founded in 1970, enrolls no more than forty-five to fifty students a year. Students can study Albanian culture in their native tongue, but required survey courses, like literary theory and the history of world literature, are taught in Macedonian. "I am not happy, and my colleagues are not happy," says Arifi, whose specialty is the nineteenth-century literature of Albanian romanticism. Macedonians see the university as a cultural organ of the state, Arifi contends, and hence of the majority national group—their own. "For that reason, the Albanian request for a university was treated as a political request rather than as a request to meet important needs of Albanians," she says.

Back when Macedonia was a republic of Yugoslavia, ethnic Albanian students and scholars simply traversed the Sar Mountains to attend Kosovo's University of Pristina, then the world's foremost Albanian-language university. But back then, the Sar formed a geographic, not a political, frontier. Today the mountains mark an international boundary—one mined by the Serbian army in 1999 and now guarded by the international military force known as KFOR. Overnight, Kosovo became a dangerous province of a foreign country.

When Macedonia became independent in 1991, ethnic Albanian politicians requested an Albanian-language pedagogical institute in order to train teachers for Macedonia's Albanian-language primary and secondary schools. The request was denied. So, too, were calls for an expanded Albanian track at Saints Cyril and Methodius University. At the same time, Kosovo's crisis deepened; unemployed ethnic Albanian intellectuals fled Serbian repression, settling in increasing numbers in Tetovo on the Macedonian side of the border. The solution to the refugees' problems coincided with the demands of the local Albanian population: In 1995, Kosovar professors helped found an underground university. Despite an opening marred by police gunfire, in which a student was killed, the so-called University of Tetovo continued to operate illegally, serving an enthusiastic student body a controversial blend of informal education and nationalist solidarity.

Funded through the same shadowy network as the rebels, and led by nationalist hard-liner Fadil Sulejmani, the university became a hotbed of Albanian militancy, say its detractors. By the time of my visit to Tetovo, many of the university's students are believed to be toting Kalashnikovs in the hills above.

ALBANIAN LEADER ARBEN XHAFERI, LEFT, SHAKES HANDS WITH MACEDONIAN PRIME MINISTER LJUBCO GEORGIEVSKI AFTER SIGNING A PEACE DEAL.

AFP PHOTO/VLATKO PERKOVSKI

DESPITE Macedonian intransigence, the Albanian-language higher-education issue was nearing resolution before the war began, thanks to outside mediation. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which represents fifty-five countries, recently secured the Macedonian government's permission to found a new, private university in Tetovo. South East Europe University (SEEU) will provide professional training for Albanian students but avoid the more politically sensitive field of Albanian studies. Launched by Max van der Stoel, the OSCE's high commissioner on national minorities, and funded largely by Western governments, the university will offer instruction in Albanian, English, and Macedonian for nearly three thousand students starting this fall. The underground University of Tetovo, by contrast, served up to ten thousand students and did not shy away from the humanities. Its rector has reportedly described SEEU as a "puppet school" designed to "crush" the University of Tetovo.

A local journalist leads me through a dusty courtyard to SEEU's temporary offices. The new university's director, Alajdin Abazi, dressed in a crisp shirt and tie, meets me in a barren conference room not far from the university's construction site. SEEU broke ground the same day the war began, says Abazi, whose sharp blue eyes illuminate his weather-beaten face. Apart from the construction and the shooting, a final hurdle remains: accreditation. The university has applied to a special commission made up of eight professors from existing universities, two members of MANU, and five government appointees. Abazi chuckles. "So there are fifteen members—one is Albanian, fourteen are Macedonian," he notes. "I hope they will support us."

Born in Tetovo, Abazi earned his Ph.D. in physics and electrotechnics at the University of Zagreb. Opportunity then called him to Pristina University, where he took a faculty position in 1969. At the same time, he worked his way up to president of Kosovo's electric power distribution company. But that life was not to last: When Milosevic rose to power and expelled Albanians from positions of influence, Abazi was abruptly fired from both of his posts. For the following decade, he wandered, first on a Fulbright to the United States, later in western Europe and then China. When family problems drew him back to Macedonia, Abazi knew that resuming an academic post was out of the question: He became a banker. "I worked at a private bank for seven years," he tells me. "It was in vain to think I could go and ask for a place as a professor at Skopje University." Today he feels he is at last doing something meaningful for the town where he was born.

Problems remain, however. By government mandate, the university must require some classes in Macedonian. Abazi says, "For me it is not normal, but somebody decided it." More important than educating students in the language of their

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country's majority, in Abazi's view, is preparing them for integration into western Europe. The new school will emphasize English-language skills, as well as "knowledge of European culture and so on," Abazi says. But it will come at a cost: Students will pay about eight hundred dollars a year in tuition, which is about half Macedonia's yearly per capita income. "So it doesn't mean all Albanians are satisfied with this solution," Abazi says. "There are still a few questions. For example, why is this private? Why are we going to pay and somebody's not going to pay in Skopje?"

ACCORDING to Friedman, the question of minority education is a red herring. As often happens in this region, a shared social problem masquerades as a divisive ethnic one. "The more important question is the quality of education," says Friedman. "If the education is known to be of high quality, it's not so important what language it's delivered in." He cites the case of a Turkish-sponsored high school in Skopje that offers classes in Turkish, Macedonian, and English. "There is a waiting list of all ethnicities of parents trying to get their kids into this high school," he says. Why? Because it's a good school.

A great many local and international activists have long sought to focus the country's energies on shared concerns—the economy, for instance, or infrastructural needs. But in the realm of culture, the politics of identity are difficult to downplay. If Albanians are to consider Macedonian cultural institutions their own, why aren't their contributions better represented in MANU, for instance, or the national museum? Why, Macedonians retort, do Albanians insist on flying the flag of a neighboring state—Albania?

When Albanians grumble about conducting even minimal university course work in the country's official language, it's not hard to understand why Macedonians perceive them as identifying more closely with Albanians in Kosovo than with Macedonians in Macedonia. Says Friedman, "The bottom line from the Macedonian point of view is that they look around and Macedonia is surrounded on four sides by nation-states that have national languages. Minorities in those countries have to learn the national language. What's more, ethnic Macedonian minorities in Greece and Bulgaria don't have nearly the educational opportunities, to say nothing of the rights, that minorities do in Macedonia, for all the imperfections."

Hugh Poulton expresses some sympathy for the beleaguered Macedonian state, but he also cautions against invidious comparisons. "The Macedonian government line was that Albanians are a minority," says Poulton. "If they should have a faculty, so should Turks and Vlachs. That's insulting to the Albanians, and stupid. Anyone can see that Albanians aren't just a minority; they're a sizable community. Albanian education rights compared to those of *Vlachs*?"

But if Albanians in Macedonia are not a minority, what are they? It's a question inherited from the old Yugoslavia, which classified Albanians as a "national minority" rather than as a "constituent nation." The latter status conferred greater self-rule and the option of secession from the federal state. It accrued to the far less numerous Montenegrins—and, for that matter, to Macedonians—but not to Albanians, ostensibly because an Albanian homeland existed outside Yugoslav borders.

Many Albanians in Macedonia want the same thing Albanians in Yugoslavia wanted: status as a federal, autonomous unit of the state, with the option of secession. This arrangement—a binational Macedonia—could conceivably grant Albanians greater territorial, political, and cultural self-determination. It would also cost Macedonians their unitary nation-state, reducing their status, too, to that of a federal unit within a confederal state. Worse, says Milcin, it would lock Macedonia into an ethnically polarized political system dominated by nationalist parties—one where "these two communities, not forgetting that there are also other minorities in Macedonia, will forever have leaders who will be their masters."

WITHIN two months of my visit, NATO brokered a tenuous peace in Macedonia and deployed a force to collect weapons from the NLA. While the agreement states unequivocally that "there are no territorial solutions to ethnic issues," it also provides for the decentralization of the state, which will in practice afford greater self-rule for the Albanian-dominated regions in the west and north. Albanian will be made an official language within certain contexts, and the Macedonian government will be forced to provide funding for Albanian-language higher education.

Hard-liners, especially on the Macedonian side, are not happy. And pessimists on both sides say the war is not over; it's simply lying in wait for NATO's departure, or for next year's "fighting season"—the summer—to begin. In the meantime, much of Macedonia is already mourning what many fear is the real casualty of the country's short war: namely, the notion of a civic state—one made up of all citizens, regardless of ethnicity, and one where the state's primary obligation is to its inhabitants, not to one national culture, or even two. Despite the peace agreement's apparent commitment to such a state, the "facts on the ground" are not encouraging. Nor is it certain that even a civic state created with the best intentions could fully honor Macedonia's diversity, considering that Macedonians and Albanians disagree about what its minority-language provisions should look like.

Too bad, because the *macédoine* is defined by nothing if not multiplicity. Richly diverse throughout its history, Macedonia also became home to those who migrated here during the era of Yugoslav integration. In June, I visited Ferid Muhic, a philosopher at Saints Cyril and Methodius who was born in Bosnia and moved to Macedonia at age fourteen. "The first thing I noticed from the train was a really unforgettable, fascinating peak of Ljuboten, the beginning of Sar Planina," Muhic recalls. "For me the most important contacts, developing feelings, are connected to this land, this landscape—the first emotions, the first real friendships. You have some kind of emotional, intellectual, affectional roots."

Today Muhic is worried for the very integrity and coherence of the mixed society he considers his own. Who now can lead this country? What Macedonian leader could earn the trust of Albanians—what Albanian, the trust of Macedonians? What's missing, says Muhic, is a shared political context. Without that, he says, "you don't have a unifying principle that will really put the state on the same level for all its citizens. It will appear for one group as the instrument of protection, and for the other, as the instrument of oppression."

Laura Secor is a senior editor at *LF*. Her article "Gender Trouble" appeared in the July/August issue.

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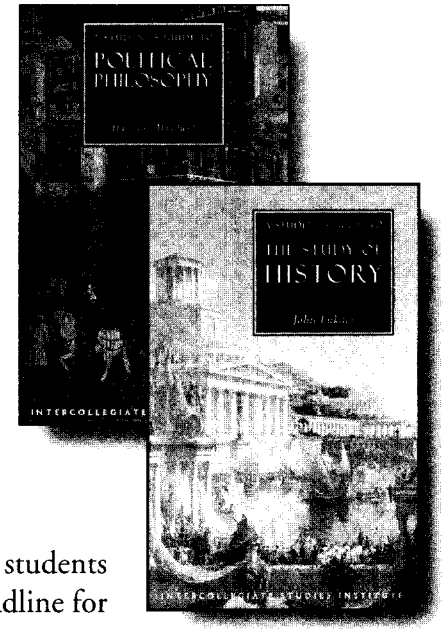

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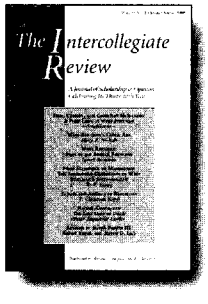

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THE SUBMERGENCE OF MAN

THE AQUATIC APE THEORY IS MAKING WAVES. ARE TRADITIONAL DARWINISTS ALL WET?

BY **GAVIN McNETT**

SEVERAL MILLION YEARS AGO, AS WE'VE all been taught, our early ancestors were expelled from the Eden of the African forests as the trees became sparse and grasslands overtook their habitat. In the face of new threats and challenges on the savanna, they evolved the key traits that now distinguish us from our closest simian relatives, such as bipedalism, a hairless skin, enlarged brains, and so forth.

Over the past few years, however, new fossil discoveries and a closer investigation of the existing fossil record have called that story into question. It seems, for one thing, that there was no hot, dry savanna until about one and a half million years after our ancestors became bipedal; their formative environment seems instead to have been lush, temperate, and abundantly watered. Because of these findings, the terms of debate have changed. And yet, it is still accepted as fact that our ancestors evolved entirely on land—in an environment now envisioned, perhaps, as a mosaic of forest, shrubbery, and grassland, but in which water was clearly a beverage and not a habitat.

That would seem a pretty safe and obvious assumption. Yet there's one significant if unorthodox theory that claims otherwise. As its proponents note, many of the anatomic traits that separate *Homo sapiens* from other primates are rare or unique among land mammals but common among mammals with a history of spending a lot of time in water—whales and dolphins, pachyderms, and wallowing species such as hippos and tapirs. Our smooth, hairless skin is perhaps the most obvious example. But there's also our relatively uniform layer of fat and the fact that we appear to be alone among primates, and possibly among terrestrial animals, in our ability to control our breathing. Could it be that many of our characteristic traits—including, most crucially, bipedalism—are consistent with a formative period not of hunting on the savanna or foraging in shrubs but of habitual wading, and possibly diving, in a wet habitat? Might we be, as it were, aquatic apes?

LAUGH IF YOU DARE.

Although it was tarred for decades as pseudoscience, the aquatic hypothesis of human evolution, also acronymed AAT (aquatic ape theory), has lately made strides toward respectability. Proponents of AAT are a varied and sometimes fractious bunch, with supporters both inside and outside academia. The Belgian scientist Marc Verhaegen is perhaps the most prominent of the theory's degreed exponents, but the AAT's doyenne and chief promulgator is Elaine Morgan, a Welsh autodidact in evolutionary theory.

Morgan is best known in the United States as a feminist author of the foundational but time-bound early-1970s variety—the variety that includes Shulamith Firestone and Ti-Grace Atkinson. Her first book, *The Descent of Woman* (1972), was written as a feminist response to Desmond Morris's man-the-hunter notion of hominid evolution, which he put forth in his 1967 classic, *The Naked Ape*. In her book, Morgan attempted to give equal evolutionary weight to the female of the species. That fairly modest ambition was overpowered by a whopper of a central hypothesis—that of the aquatic ape—which she has been exploring ever

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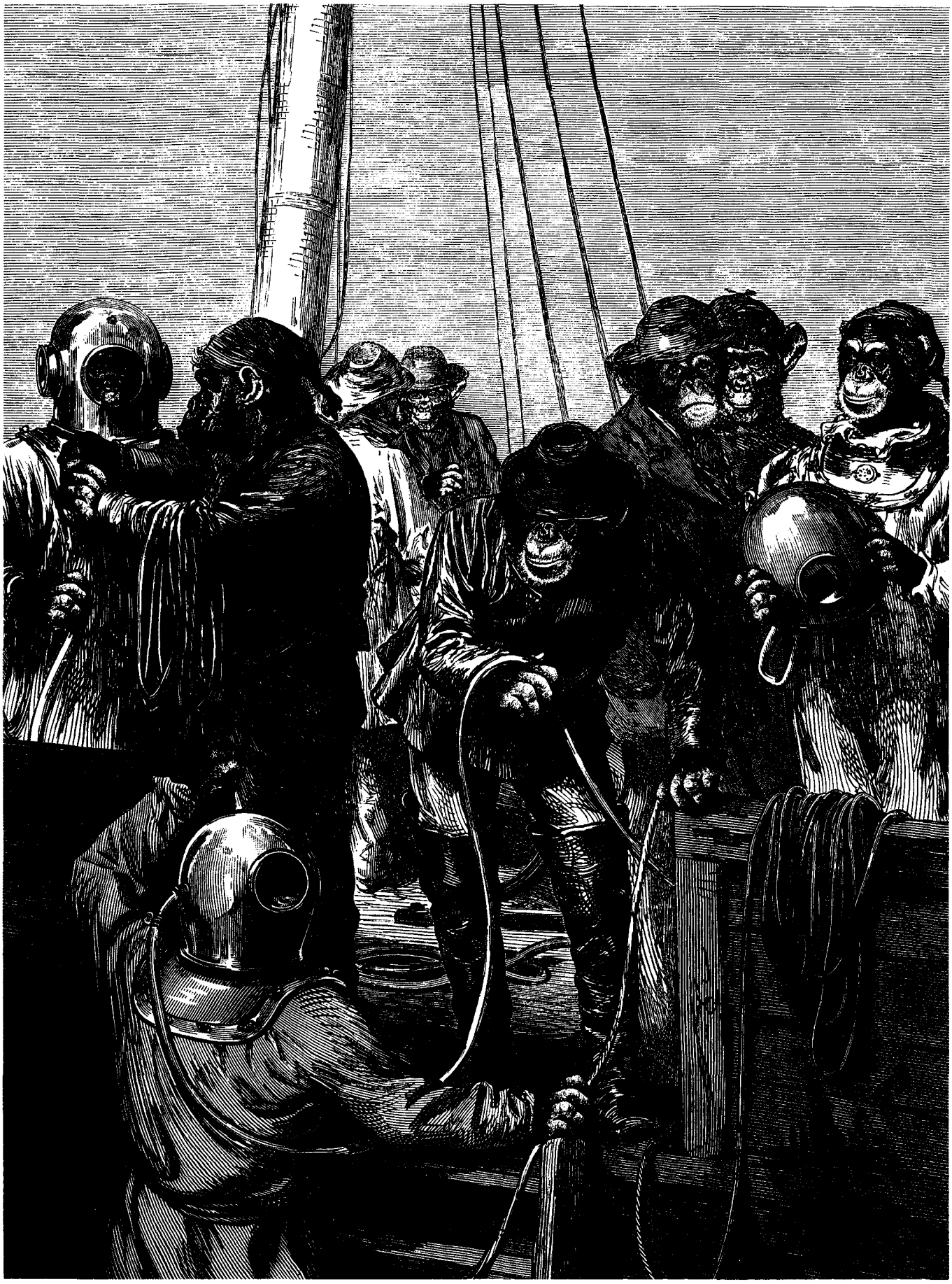

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since in such books as *The Scars of Evolution* (1990) and *The Descent of the Child* (1994).

Though Morgan's books tend to fall swiftly into the u-take-'em bins in American bookstores, her latest and most comprehensive work, *The Aquatic Ape Hypothesis* (1997), garnered a brief review in the journal *Nature* and caused quite a stir on the other side of the Atlantic, receiving coverage in *The New Scientist* and *The London Observer*. The BBC, via AAT supporter Richard Attenborough, has released a documentary on the topic, and John Gribbin, the British Carl Sagan, has weighed in respectfully as well. Last year, the Royal Norwegian Academy of Sciences awarded Morgan a medal for her work.

One of Morgan's most dogged critics, the University of Indianapolis anthropologist John Langdon, notes with frustration that the "aquatic hypothesis is only one of several ideas rejected by orthodox science that has refused to go away." Lately, however, a vote of great confidence in the AAT has come from the eminent paleoanthropologist Philip Tobias, emeritus professor of anatomy and human biology at the University of the Witwatersrand and formerly one of the fiercest partisans of the savanna hypothesis. "We were all profoundly and unutterably wrong!" declaimed Tobias during a lecture in 1995. "I believe that paleoanthropologists have a duty to reexamine the claims for the aquatic ape theory," he now explains. "It is clear to me that the AAT highlights a real problem that needs to be addressed."

THE AQUATIC APE theory isn't a new idea, but it was a much smaller and less coherent one until Morgan happened across it and began building it into a comprehensive model of human evolution.

In 1923, the German anatomist Max Westenhöfer published some cautiously elliptical remarks about our evolutionary heritage having possibly been somewhat aquatic. Several years later, the British biologist Alister Hardy returned from a research trip to the Antarctic, where he'd been dissecting seals and whales, and picked up a copy of *Man's Place Among the Mammals* by the distinguished anatomist Frederic Wood Jones. In it, he read this passage:

> The peculiar relation of the skin [in humans] to the underlying superficial fascia is a very real distinction, familiar enough to everyone who has repeatedly skinned both human subjects and any other members of the Primates. The bed of subcutaneous fat adherent to the skin, so conspicuous in Man, is possibly related to his apparent hair reduction; though it is difficult to see why, if no other factor is invoked, there should be such a basal difference between Man and the Chimpanzee.

A lightbulb popped over Hardy's head, and he began to think about the odd similarities between the fat structures of humans and those of seals and whales. He chose, however, not to publish on the subject for nearly thirty years, for fear of stirring up an enormous horselaugh among his colleagues. Hardy's article "Was Man More Aquatic in the Past?," which eventually ran in *The New Scientist* in 1960, detailed a number of other similarities that he found between humans and aquatic mammals, postulated a temporary semi-aquatic stage in human evolution—and stirred up an enormous horselaugh among his colleagues.

Morgan's *The Descent of Woman* followed twelve years later and was greeted with a great, roaring silence by the scientific community. It was a silence that would continue for almost two decades. "For the first twenty years or so," Morgan says of her books, "they were totally ignored by professional scientists as not worth replying to—on par with UFOs and Bigfoot."

Critics of the AAT once found it easier to point accusingly at Morgan's eccentricities than to engage with her arguments. But the talented amateur is hardly an unknown figure to science. And though Morgan is often called a "Welsh housewife" by her detractors, she has something of that near-vanished Edwardian aspect whose latest (and perhaps last) exponent is the mature yet somehow ever-ageless Jane Goodall. She's hopeless at driving, and perforce doesn't; but she's all over the Internet—indeed, it's hard to believe, from the myriad mailing-list posts that appear under her name, that she is eighty-one years old.

Morgan is of a generation that produced unflappable jodhpurred exploratrixes and Blitz-era combat nurses—a pre-feminist generation of women who knew themselves to be every bit as capable as men. The Wales of her youth was the tough, practical Wales of the coal mines, which she escaped through a scholarship to Oxford. Post-Oxford, she worked first as a writer for television, beginning in the medium's late infancy in 1952. Over the course of that career she won half a dozen awards, including a Writer of the Year award from the Royal Film Society. But following the success of her first book, Morgan says, she "moved over by easy stages from TV to writing science books about evolution." Though she has been frustrated by the way the scientific community has treated her, she points out that it often takes a generation for radical scientific notions to break into the mainstream, as a younger generation of scholars supplants its mentors. "Next year is the thirtieth anniversary of my first book," she says. "And the climate is changing rapidly."

CERTAINLY, the circumstantial evidence Morgan presents for the AAT is rather striking. Bipedalism, according to one standard evolutionary account, allowed our ancestors to see over tall grass on the savanna. But bipedalism carries severe penalties on land, Morgan claims in *The Scars of Evolution,* and would have made a poor strategy for survival there: It's slow and precarious and leaves the viscera exposed to attack. In its intermediate forms, as with the large-footed, bowlegged australopithecines, it would've been even slower and more precarious—like walking around with your knees bent, wearing clown shoes. Baboons, Morgan notes, are the primates best adapted to life on the savanna, and they're actually more quadrupedal than other species of monkey. The first bipedal primate, it seems, was *Oreopithecus bambolii,* an ape possibly ancestral to chimps and gorillas that scientists think had a shuffling gait—and lived

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in marshlands. Likewise, the most bipedal primate species alive today (aside from ourselves) are the proboscis monkey and the bonobo—both of which live in habitats prone to flooding and walk on two legs, Morgan believes, not to perambulate the land more effectively but to keep their heads above water.

Another standard explanation for bipedalism presumes that walking upright allowed our ancestors to reduce exposure to the hot noonday sun. But Morgan emphasizes that the profuse sweating and urination of our species would have been tremendously wasteful in a hot, dry environment. (We can lose up to ten liters of fluids a day through the skin alone.) That disadvantage, she concludes, would not have been offset by the relatively minor cooling effect of standing upright.

Our thermoregulatory strategy, she argues, also differs in several ways from that of other terrestrial mammals. We have, as noted before, something like a layer of subcutaneous fat, efficient in water, whereas other land-dwelling species (including monkeys and apes) have isolated fat deposits and hair for insulation. Our lack of a covering layer of body hair, Morgan claims, is shared by only two types of terrestrial mammal: the subterranean, such as the naked mole rat, and those with an affinity for wading and wallowing in water, like the hippo, the rhino, the tapir, certain species of pig, and the snorkeled, strong-swimming elephant. Suspiciously enough, we also have far oilier faces than other primates, which means that we have to wash them to stay clean (other apes, including the chimpanzee and most gorillas, generally avoid water), and we excrete salt like there'll always be more to go around.

There are plenty of other distinctive human features that AAT supporters believe are best understood as solutions to the problems of a semiaquatic environment. Morgan presents evidence that humans possess a diving reflex, which slows the heart rate when we're underwater (most mammals' hearts speed up). We also gasp when splashed unexpectedly with water, taking in a quick lungful of air (most mammals exhale). Our nostrils face downward rather than outward, which keeps the water out when we dive. We seem to have vestigial sealing mechanisms in our ear and nasal openings, such that we can wiggle our ears a bit or push that cartilaginous nub called the tragus over the opening of the auditory canal. Infants (and some adults) can wrinkle their nostrils completely closed. In addition, one would expect estrus, the female sexual cycle common to most terrestrial mammals (including all primates save the wet-legged bonobo), to be less pronounced, as ours is, in an environment in which its olfactory signals would be washed away.

The list goes on. Omega-3 fatty acids, vital to human brain development (and increased brain capacity), are rare in terrestrial food sources but abundant in fish and shellfish—as is iodine, a necessary nutrient. Upon stepping into the bathtub or the shower, one notes, we often feel the urge to urinate.

Even the origin of human language, Morgan insists, can best be explained in light of the AAT. Vocal language is facilitated by our ability, not shared by primates or other terrestrial mammals, to breathe—and therefore vocalize—at will. She notes that the ability to hold one's breath would be highly adaptive in a semiaquatic habitat.

As for hard fossil evidence, AAT supporters even claim to have some of that. The arid Afar Depression, where Don Johanson discovered the three-million-year-old australopithecine Lucy in 1974, was, during the specimen's lifetime, the environs of the now-vanished Sea of Afar. The woodlands might not have held an obvious incentive for bipedalism, but the shorelines, with their mixture of salt marshes, mangrove swamps, flooded forests, and island habitats, would have. And, as it happened, Lucy's remains were found scattered among crocodile eggs and crab claws—a common assemblage for such specimens. In fact, most Ethiopian hominid fossils have been found in and around ancient streams, rivers, and littoral environments.

IT'S A COMPELLING theory, but is it really plausible? Not according to the vast majority of working scientists. In 1997, John Langdon weighed in with the most comprehensive critique to date: "Umbrella Hypotheses and Parsimony in Human Evolution: A Critique of the Aquatic Ape Hypothesis," which appeared in the *Journal of Human Evolution*. Langdon presented a related paper, "Parsimony of Aquatic and Terrestrial Hypotheses," at the AAT conference in 1999 in Ghent, Belgium. Morgan says that Langdon is a pleasure to have as a colleague—"Although before I met him in person," she says with respect for his pugilism, "I feared he'd have the charms of a half-house-trained polecat."

Langdon challenges Morgan's claims point by point. With respect to human hairlessness, he concedes that we resemble many aquatic mammals (though he points out that some, like the walrus, are sparsely haired, and many are furred—including at least fourteen species of seal and sea lion). But are we hairless for the same reason that whales and dolphins are? The reasons mammals lose hair are many, he claims, and include not just immersion in water but also gigantism (a decreased ratio of surface area to mass puts a premium on cooling) and possibly burrowing. Hominoids and pigs, he notes, fit none of these categories; he claims there's reason to think that their lack of hair might easily reflect the demands of a habitat such as "a shaded tropical niche, like a forest."

As for subcutaneous fat, Langdon contends that Morgan's comparison between

PROPONENTS OF THE AQUATIC APE THEORY NOTE THAT OUR SMOOTH, HAIRLESS SKIN, RELATIVELY UNIFORM LAYER OF FAT, AND ABILITY TO CONTROL OUR BREATHING ARE RARE AMONG LAND MAMMALS.

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the fat structure of humans and that of aquatic mammals is forced: Our hands, feet, and scalp aren't insulated with fat, for instance. He cites scholarship that indicates that fat in humans is basically located in the same regions as it is in other mammals, although it is "somewhat expanded in area."

But what about bipedalism? In Morgan's telling, walking on two legs would have been highly disadvantageous on land, in part because it would have meant a radical departure from the successful quadrupedal strategies used by other primates. Nonsense, says Langdon: He believes that hominoid ancestry indicates a long-term pattern of climbing and suspension that would have increasingly demanded an upright posture. Accordingly, he supports the hypothesis that bipedalism did not require an enormous leap, as Morgan suggests, but was rather "a small step away."

Langdon's arguments go on. As for our ability to control our breathing, Langdon believes it is an artifact of bipedalism, "because human upper limbs and thorax are not involved in locomotion." The human nose, whose nostrils Morgan characterizes as facing downward, is in fact, he claims, "highly variable." And while he grants that hominid fossil deposits are "consistently associated" with watery habitats—indeed, *all* terrestrial fossil deposits are—he counters that this is because the conditions of lakeshores and river and stream channels "provide the rapid burial usually necessary for fossilization."

"But the real problem," Langdon says, "is that the AAT is put up as the alternative to the savanna hypothesis. The savanna hypothesis, I have stated, never really existed and is primarily a straw man created and repeated endlessly by the aquatic model." Langdon grants that it's now recognized that there was a gap of one and a half million years between the time our ancestors rose up onto two legs and the retreat of the forests, but he believes the environmental pressures of the savanna might still explain our enlarged brain capacity and our habit of tool use, both of which came about fairly late in the game. "We are not in a crisis point without a theory," he stresses, "we merely are making corrections in it."

Morgan half agrees: "There was not a savanna theory, so named by its adherents. There was more of a savanna axiom: 'We all know this is true. Let's work from there.' As an explanation of bipedalism, nothing has taken its place. The theories that owed their explanatory power to the flora and fauna and great heats of the savanna are still hanging around because nothing new has come up to replace them."

WHILE LANGDON IS THE AAT's most prominent critic in the United States, the philosopher Daniel Dennett has emerged as its most prominent supporter. Although Dennett is not a professional biologist, his interest in the field nearly won him a National Book Award in 1995 for *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*. And in 1999, he brought Morgan to his demesne of Tufts University to lecture as part of his continuing series, "Iconoclasts on the Frontiers of Science." He says he's found the counterarguments offered against the AAT unimpressive.

Dennett is nonetheless sympathetic to those scientists who roll their eyes at the idea of the aquatic ape. "I can well imagine," he says, "somebody coming up with a bizarre theory about something I knew intimately, and discovering that I couldn't for the life of me think up a crisp rebuttal that a layman would appreciate—and yet be totally confident that the bizarre theory had to be wrong." But, he adds, "researchers in virtually every discipline must live in fear of dismissing the 'nutcase' who turns out to be the brilliant, iconoclastic revolutionary. Mostly, the folks who come forward with such ideas are nuts, and it would be foolish to waste our time on them. But every now and then, the genuine article shows up. Is the aquatic hypothesis going to turn out to be like plate tectonics or Hamilton's kin selection? Or is it just another of the hundreds of superficially attractive false ideas that haunt the field for ages before collapsing of their own preposterousness?

"Who knows?" says Dennett. "I, for one, don't, but I also doubt that anybody else does—yet."

Gavin McNett is a mostly bipedal primate whose work has appeared in *The New York Times Book Review, The Washington Post Book World,* Salon.com, and other publications.

The Future Of Cultural Memory

Columbia, SC: February 14–17, 2002. The Program in Comparative Literature at the University of South Carolina announces a conference, "The Future of Cultural Memory." This conference will address issues at the intersection of cultural/literary study, political philosophy, and international relations. Possible topics include: the politics of history and memory, transitions to and from democracy, the public sphere, culture of/and globalization, Third World feminism, postcolonial legacies, narrative and identity, literature/culture and practical reason, cosmopolitanism, culture and citizenship. Plenary speakers include: Alessandro Ferrara (Parma, Italy), Linda Alcoff (Syracuse), and Pascal Michon (College International de Philosophie, Paris). Send inquiries and one-page abstracts for twenty-minute papers by July 1, 2001, to Meili Steele, Comparative Literature, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208. Phone: 803-777-0473. E-mail: steelem@sc.edu. Selected papers will be published in Intertexts. Completed papers are due on October 1, 2001.

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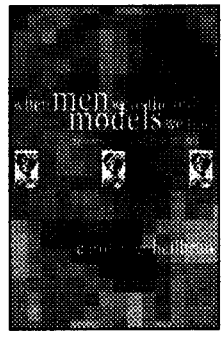

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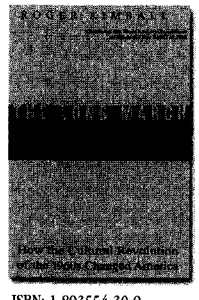

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continued from page 7

["Letterheads," Field Notes, September], I was afraid the piece might make (or let) me sound like a jackass. But I found little to take issue with, except that he called Malory a poet. Sir Thomas Malory is the author of the Middle Ages' greatest *prose* work, *Le Morte d'Arthur,* which you should all read. And as for Shea's claim that Malory is "something of an obsession" for me—well, in the words of a great authority, Julie Gates (a character in my short story "A Man by Nothing Is So Well Betrayed as by His Manners"): "An obsession is a strong interest someone disapproves of."

One other thing: Although I did estimate that for every letter that runs in *The New York Times* I've written "three or four others," I stressed that this was just an estimate. The article's information that the late Louis J. Herman had an acceptance rate of about one in seven makes me think I should revise my estimate of my own acceptance rate downward. I bet my rate is no higher than his. Also, of course, most of my letters in the *Times* do not appear on the main letters page but in other sections of the paper.

FELICIA ACKERMAN
Professor of Philosophy
Brown University

LETTERS NEVER SENT

In quoting letters written by Philip K. Dick to the FBI ["Marxist Literary Critics Are Following Me!" May/June], Jeet Heer ignores an important question: Did Dick send said letters? As noted by *Science Fiction Studies,* the majority of his letters to the FBI do not appear in his FBI file: "According to his wife...Dick's procedure was to 'write a letter...and go out in the back alley, and drop the letter in the trash bin.'" Given Heer's penchant for words like "betray," "denounce," and "traitor," your readers should know whether Heer is quoting from letters Dick wrote but never sent.

CLAUDIA KRENZ
Nikiski, Alaska

Jeet Heer replies: In my article, I quoted from carbon copies of Dick's letters to the FBI that were reprinted in *The Selected Letters of Philip K. Dick.* Did Dick mail off all these letters or only a few? The fact that not all the letters appear in Dick's FBI file is inconclusive, since we know that the FBI received at least one letter (dated March 20, 1974) that it responded to but did not keep on file. The chief reason for believing that Dick did not send all the letters he wrote is a statement made by Tessa Dick, who was his wife from 1973 to 1976. In 1991 Tessa Dick wrote to Gregg Rickman, Dick's biographer, that "Phil told me he'd only sent the first three or four letters, and he stopped mailing them because the FBI had lost interest (or perhaps never had any interest) in the case...." Does Tessa's testimony tell us what Dick actually did? Dick habitually mixed fact with fantasy in accounts of his own life. In his diary he expresses guilt for sending letters to the FBI. His statement to his wife could be seen as an attempt at self-exculpation. While my article should have mentioned Dick's claim that he didn't send all the letters, I believe that the most plausible appraisal of the evidence suggests that Dick mailed off most, and possibly all, of the letters he wrote to the FBI.

CORRECTION

A photo in "The Artistic Animal" [October] was miscaptioned. The middle photo on page 31 is of the Eisenberg family, not the Dissanayake family.

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A MATTER OF CHOICE

CAN A MATHEMATICAL IDEA HAVE POLITICAL IMPORT?

THE LITERARY THEORIST JULIA Kristeva has written that "the functioning of poetic meaning obeys the principles designated by the axiom of choice." Alan Sokal, in his famous send-up of postmodern theory, "Transgressing the Boundaries," suggested that the axiom of choice had something to do with the abortion-rights movement and the feminist agenda for equality. Later, in the book *Fashionable Nonsense,* Sokal and his co-author, Jean Bricmont, correctively declared that the axiom of choice "has no political implications whatsoever."

What is this much-invoked thing called the axiom of choice? Is it really devoid of political significance, as Sokal and Bricmont claim? Or could it turn out to pack an ideological punch beyond the imagination of even the most wild-eyed Left Bank postmodern theorist?

To understand what the axiom of choice is, start with this homely example, apparently thought up by Bertrand Russell. Suppose you have an infinite number of pairs of shoes and you want to pick out one shoe from each pair. There is an obvious rule for doing this: Take the left shoe from each pair (or use the right-shoe rule—it doesn't matter). Now suppose you have an infinite number of pairs of *socks* and you want to select one sock from each pair. Since socks in a pair, unlike shoes, are identical, there is no rule for defining a set that consists of precisely one sock from each pair. The choice for each pair would have to be arbitrary; and since there are infinitely many pairs, that means an infinite number of arbitrary choices. Here is where the axiom of choice comes to the rescue. It allows one to assume the existence of such a "choice set," even though there is no rule for constructing it.

The axiom of choice caused fierce controversy when it was first framed by the German logician Ernst Zermelo in 1904. Anti-choicers scoffed at the idea of a mathematical object existing by fiat. Pro-choicers countered by insisting that the axiom was self-evidently true and that it was crucial for mathematics and for science itself. Zermelo pointed out that many vocal anti-choicers had unwittingly been using the axiom of choice in their work before he explicitly formulated it.

Today, mathematicians are overwhelmingly pro-choice. Without the axiom of choice, much of modern mathematics would simply not exist. Algebraists need it to prove that every vector space has a basis; topologists need it to prove that the product of two compact spaces is compact; set theorists need it to prove that if two infinite numbers aren't equal, one must be bigger than the other. The axiom crops up in a variety of exotically named forms, including the Hausdorff maximal principle and Zorn's lemma. (The latter, as I recall, was borrowed as the moniker for a downtown New York jazz group in the 1980s.)

The axiom of choice is useful, no doubt about it. But is it true? In a sense, this question is unanswerable. In 1938, Kurt Gödel showed that if the axiom of choice is added to set theory, no inconsistency can possibly result. In 1963, Paul Cohen of Stanford proved the converse: If the *negation* of the axiom of choice is added to set theory, no inconsistency can possibly result. The upshot is that mathematicians are free either to accept or to reject this axiom without fear of falling into absurdity. So, as long as it makes for richer mathematics—and, according to Julia Kristeva, richer poetics—why not be a pro-choicer?

But wait. Subversion lurks. Let us go back to the year 1924. The scene is the Scottish Café, in the city of Lvov (then in Poland, now in Ukraine). Among the logicians and mathematicians who haunt this bohemian spot are Stefan Banach and Alfred Tarski. Together, using the axiom of choice, they come up with a theorem that is literally incredible: It is possible to take a solid sphere, dissect it into a finite number of pieces, and then, without stretching or bending those pieces in any way, reassemble them to form two solid spheres *each of which is the same size as the original.* Equivalently, it is possible to take a solid sphere the size of an orange, dissect it into a finite number of pieces, and reassemble them to form a solid sphere the size of the sun.

The Banach-Tarski paradox, as this theorem came to be called, certainly appears dangerous. It is a sort of mathematical miracle of the loaves and fishes, one that threatens to abolish scarcity, that linchpin of bourgeois economics, and usher in a postcapitalist utopia rather like the one envisaged by Marx. (Just think of what it would do to the gold market.) And it all hangs on the axiom of choice.

Fortunately (or unfortunately, depending on your ideological predilections), no one could slice up physical matter deftly enough to make good on this theorem, not even the guys behind the lox counter at Zabar's. Matter is composed of discontinuous atoms, so it can't be split into pieces of arbitrarily fine detail, as required by the Banach-Tarski dissection. The late physicist Richard Feynman recalled making just that objection when mathematicians at Princeton bet him that an orange could be re-pieced together into something as big as the sun: "No, you said an orange, so I *assumed* you meant a *real orange,*" he protested.

The axiom of choice has no role to play in the material dialectic after all. It leaves the world as it is. Oh well. There's always poetics.

JIM HOLT

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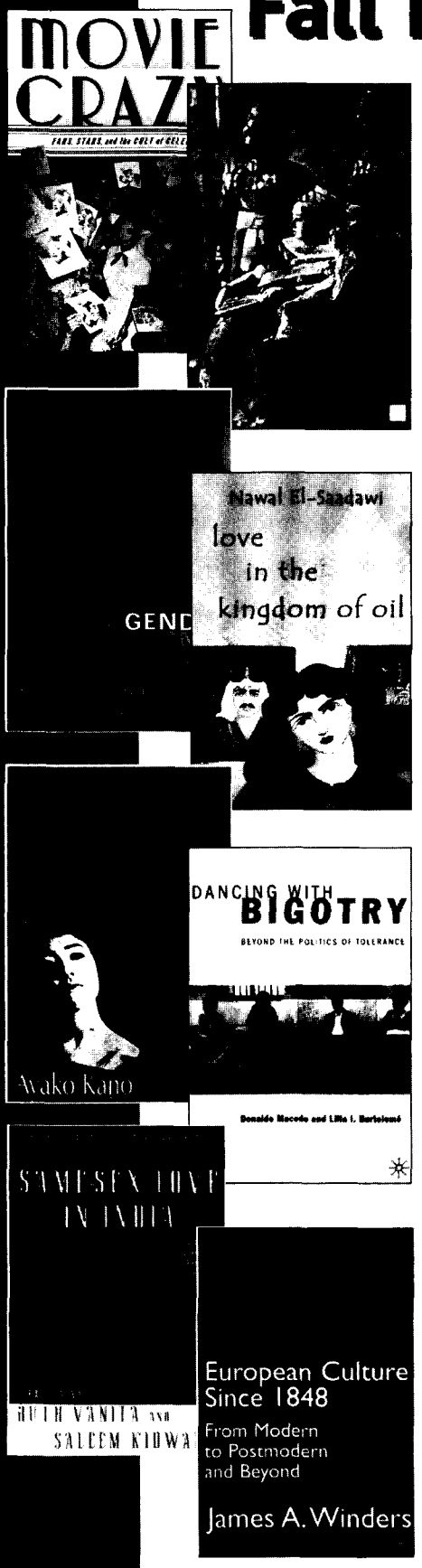
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